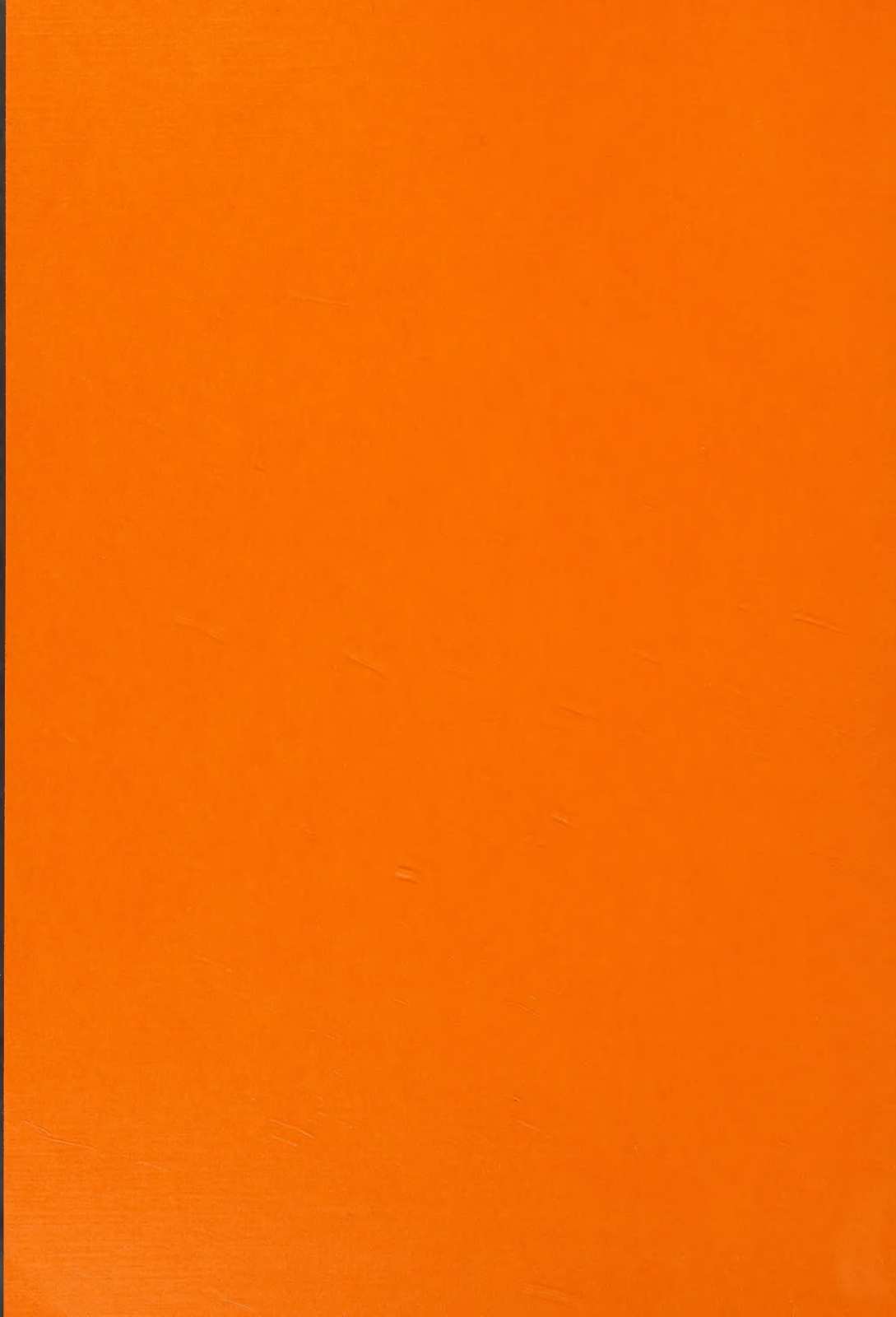


Ideological Trends in the Political Thinking of the Developing Regions: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa

Tarekegn Adebo

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IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS IN THE POLITICAL THINKING OF THE
DEVELOPING REGIONS: THE CASE OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

TAREKEGN ADEBO

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Abstract This study develops a scheme for analyzing the ideological trends in the political thought of the developing regions. The scheme is developed through the application of an historical-ideological perspective - where history is viewed as a succession of socio-economic formations and ideology as a system of views and aims reflecting class interests - to the work of various intellectuals from the Sub-Sahara African region. Utilizing some central concepts in the ideological structure, a classification is made that permits examination of the views, aims and methods of the various thinkers, especially their views about independence and social change. Two major tendencies emerge, namely reformism and revolution, and are examined in detail. These are related to the two major ideologies viz. liberalism and scientific socialism (Marxism-Leninism). While the general political/ideological development in this African region points towards either of these two trends, the study also reveals a transitional stage characterized by programs of radical reform and revolutionary democratic change, which clearly offers the possibility of moving towards a socialist society. The trends of thought identified in the study are those of moderate and radical reformism, revolutionary democratic transformation and scientific socialism.		
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1.1

Aims

Systematic analysis finds the different regions of today's world on various levels of economic, political and social development. Developed, and under-developed or developing, industrialized and industrializing, are some of the dichotomous designations which are meant to characterize such a variety of levels. The politico-economic forces that have been at work in creating the current disparity, however, appear to be similar the world over.

The main concern of this research is with the politics of the developing regions of the world, primarily with the ideological trends in the political thinking of these regions and with the sub-Sahara African region as a specific case in point.

While historically they may represent "a dramatic juxtaposition of continuity and change,"¹ in terms of socio-economic relations the developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America show tremendous variety.² Therefore, it is not sufficient to lump all of them under one designation. In some of the countries of these regions there is a preponderance of industrialization, and a significant capitalist development. While in others industrialization is weaker and feudal relations are pre-dominant. In a majority of the countries here represented, like those of the sub-Sahara African region, tribal and semi-feudal or feudal types of relations pre-dominate life, albeit at different stages of decay.

Such multistructurality features a juxtaposition of centuries old traditional socio-economic relations with the concomitant views, cultural practices, norms and dispositions with a thin layer of post-feudal segments which tend to guide the general development. The question we will focus on here is which way the trend is heading. One of the most fruitful ways of approaching this question is through an analysis of the ideological content of political thought that dominates these regions.

This multi-structural type of society often projects a chaotic picture of its political situation. For example, if we take sub-Saharan Africa, the post-independence period of 1960's witnessed attempts by various political activists to forge national or regional political ideas that could afford legitimacy to the inherited colonial institutions and their functionaries. To start with there were the liberal institutions - parliaments, multiparty or

bi-party systems, presidency and so on. Soon governments by constitutions gave way to those by decrees in most cases; here a "revolutionary" council, there a life president or even an emperor. The liberal bourgeois institutions, in their traditional sense, could not stand the test of the African reality and in most cases soon crumbled in the face of internal pressure and external interest.

"African socialism" and other such ideological "alchemies" which were supposed to be a "third way" between East and West while keeping the existing structures contrived by colonial interest, have not solved the pressing problems of development. Repeated voices hint that the socio-economic conditions are even getting worse.

The main motivation for this study comes from the confusing picture the African political and ideological situation projects. Here our first step will be to work out an appropriate methodological scheme for the systematic classification of leading intellectuals, a conceptual organization of their thoughts and an analysis of the ideological content. In the second part, selected political thinkers from the sub-Sahara African region will be studied with the help of this scheme. Such analysis of ideological content in the political thoughts enables us to understand how a particular thinker understands the problems of the society he is theorizing about, how he looks upon its history and what he seeks for its future. The means by which these goals may be achieved will also be examined; and so will be the roots of intellectual development. Through such procedures generalizations can be made about ideological trends in this region.

1.2 A Few Remarks on Existing Studies

Our aim here is not to exhaustively examine all the existing works on ideology in the developing world. Rather, it is to cite some examples from major non-revolutionary writings to show how haphazard, unsystematic and often biased studies have managed to establish misleading generalizations.

It is clear that, like in many other fields, the subject of ideology in the developing areas of the world has not as yet attracted deeper study. Nevertheless, there does exist a few works which have managed generalizations about this subject.

The book *The Ideologies of the Developing Nations*, edited by Paul E. Sigmund, Jr., is a pioneer work in the field. It was published in 1963 and appeared in a period of anti-colonial movements and independence.

In his long introduction, Sigmund makes some generalizations which embody the essence of the study and it may be worthwhile to look at some of these. He cites similarities in developing nations in a number of instances. He states, for example, "all the developing nations are undergoing the same general experience, and their reactions to it are similar in theoretical content and practical application."³ About the nature of a future society, he writes, these peoples "share many political and social ideas."⁴ He sees anti-colonialism and socio-economic changes as the basis for the ideology in these regions, he then terms this ideology the doctrine of "Modernizing Nationalism."⁵

Under this phrase many important thinkers are lumped together; some 26 in all ranging from Gandhi to Mao Tse-Tung and from Burgiuba to Castro. The book also contains some speeches and extracts from the writings of these thinkers-cum-politicians selected according to continent.

The book has obviously raised an important subject before many had thought of it. But its condensed designations are far from explaining the ideological content of these many thinkers. Development and nationalism are everybody's issues in such regions of economic underdevelopment and political domination. But they are dealt with by different individuals who have different views, norms and approaches. With the exception of some rudimentary categorization in the introduction, there is no systematized analysis based on classification or elaborate discussion offered by the author.

Although some caution is aired too broad generalizations such as the following are rampant. Sigmund writes "The nationalist leaders are in agreement in rejecting the capitalist method of development as slow, inefficient and unsuited to their conditions."⁶ Capitalism is rejected and socialism is preferred for moral as well as economic reasons."⁷ He further asserts "there is the appearance of similarity between communist goals and methods and those of the emerging nations."⁸ The author also mentions what is called the "middle-way" "forging a new approach to economic development that avoids the errors of both capitalism and communism."⁹

Although the attraction of socialism is an indisputable fact, with few exceptions, the countries in the developing regions are not now socialist. An important question, then, is did they start with a socialist ideology and abandon it later on? Sigmund's analysis cannot give us the answer. His lumping together of all the thinkers under "modernizing nationalism" and, above all, describing all as being influenced by "Marxist analysis of capitalism and Leninist description of imperialism"¹⁰ need careful scrutiny.

Watkins, one of the exegetes of the subject of ideology in his book *The Age of Ideology-Political Thought*, has spared few pages for ideologies in the developing polities. He too makes similar generalizations as Sigmund. He writes, "United in worldwide, revolutionary movements ... they firmly hope and believe that they are destined to participate in the destruction of international capitalism, and creation of a new world order in which the dispossessed will inherit the earth."¹¹ He then steps aside his academic stance and poses a terrifying question which he sees as "the crux of the matter" for the West: "If the have-nots, inspired by a revolutionary ideology were to unite their forces in action against the rest, would not superiority in numbers and enthusiasm enable them to win out in the long run? From the standpoint of the Western World, this unanswered question is the real nightmare of twentieth-century politics."¹²

This writer, who utters his bias and fears, soothes his alarmist conclusions with the following assertion: "Economically and politically prepared for independence, the former colonies would ... continue to cooperate with their former masters and one another.... The British Commonwealth of Nations and the French Union stand out as the most notable expressions of the hope."¹³

With the few exceptions of those countries which followed the socialist course, this assertion expresses the fate of the developing regions during the last decades.

Heady, also, endorses another stereotype and says the elites of the Third World follow the "ideology of development."¹⁴ Unlike the writers mentioned above, however, he subscribes to the statement that these elites are more like Ataturk than Marx.¹⁵

David Apter, who sees "solidarity and identity"¹⁶ as the function of ideology, terms the ideologies of the developing nations "nationalism and socialism."¹⁷ For him even these, as higher technology penetrates, are bound to disappear. "The more hopeful alternative" he writes, "is the spread of social science."¹⁸

Such representative examples indicate that correct and thorough analysis of the subject is lacking among the non-revolutionary thinkers.

On the other side, Marxist revolutionary thinking concerned about the fate of the colonized and backward regions from the very days of Marx himself, treats the issue of ideological trends in the developing regions within the perspectives of two major ideologies, viz. liberalism or capitalism and socialism. As we will see in due course, such duality is also manifested in the reformist and revolutionary trends prevalent in these regions.

For example, Brutents, writing on the development of the national liberation movements, stated that "The struggle between these trends is becoming pivotal to the development of the movement, as two opposed lines ... the bourgeois reformist approach, which is largely ineffective and is mostly oriented upon collaboration and close ties with world capitalism, on the one hand, and the revolutionary process, whose objective logic tends to invest it not only with an anti-imperialist but variously with an anti-capitalist tenor, on the other hand."¹⁹ There will be ample discussion at a later stage about the theoretical reasoning of the revolutionary writers.

Current discussion about the possibility of a "middle-way"²⁰ between capitalism and socialism will also be clarified in the course of this study.

In all cases, serious analysis must give a clear picture of present ideological trends by tracing the influences of the two competing ideological traditions within the particular conditions of the regions of the world and through classificatory analysis of its thinkers. This is what the present study attempts to do.

1.3 Comments on the Approach

In order to make a useful analysis and, as far as possible factual generalizations, a study of a subject has to utilize a fruitful approach. A topic like ideology, as ubiquitous and as broad in time perspective as it is, needs a careful and expansive approach.

Before specifying the particular method to be applied here, it is essential to consider the question of where the subject can be securely trapped for scrutiny. Of the ways in which ideological topics are studied, surveys with open-ended questions, studies of attitudes and analysis of written materials, stand out as most frequent.

Written materials including books, speeches, constitutions, party programmes, proclamations, etc, are all useful for a thorough analysis of ideologies. This approach has a better chance of avoiding the danger of eliciting the ephemeral views which the other approaches risk. The present study will undertake a qualitative analysis of such written materials.

A systematic and serious study of a subject requires a workable method. The following discussion is devoted to this important task in order to work out a suitable conceptual scheme and framework for studying the ideological trends in the developing regions, with particular reference to sub-Saharan Africa.

A scheme is worked out below from an historical-ideological perspective, where history is viewed as a succession of socio-economic formations or modes of production and ideology, as we also see in the definition below, as a system of views and ideas dialectically related to various modes of production. The scheme utilizes the major components in the ideological structure in the analysis of political thought in order to determine its ideological content.

2.1 Ideology

The term ideology is one of those key concepts essential for the understanding of the principles, values and dispositions underlying political as well as socio-economic structures, actions and processes. Yet, the non-Marxist literature reveals confusion. For example, one calls its literature "cold and murky waters."²¹ Another writer states that it is "one of the most frequently cited and inadequately understood subjects."²² Sartori asserts, "the growing popularity of the term has been matched, if anything, by its growing obscurity."²³ Yet another writer states that: "The study of ideology is one of the larger and more impassable swamps currently existing within the intellectual territory of political science."²⁴

It is against such a background of abstrusity, despite an obvious ubiquity in politics, that an attempt is made here to plough through the "impassable swamp", so as to utilize the concept ideology in a meaningful analytical exercise. With this aim, the following brief discussion is pursued through the following subtopics: origin and persistence; issue of debate; meaning and definition; function and content and conceptual use.

2.1.1 Origin and Persistence of a Concept

One author finds the concept ideology "to be one of the most persistent and suggestive concepts in modern social thought."²⁵ Though the concept 'idea' is much older, the term ideology originates from the early 19th century French term "idéologie".²⁶

However, it is Marx and Engels who are responsible for the popularity and

current use of the term in social sciences.²⁷ Among later non-Marxist thinkers Pareto called similar phenomena "derivations", while others spoke of "myth".²⁸

Through the works of various writers, the subject 'ideology' has been carried into the middle of this century into the Cold War era where, in the West, it gained the connotation of "extremism", which was coupled with the debate of the "death of ideology."

2.1.2 Issue of Debate

There are two major areas where the subject of ideology has generated debate. The first area, which is a discussion among the non-Marxist writers, centers around those who contend that ideology is declining or dying out in the West, and those opponents to this idea; the second, concerns the class nature of ideology.

Pro "end of ideology" contenders find in post World War II Western "affluence" a situation, where major socio-economic conflicts and revolutionary confrontations have been softened through various reformist measures, and where higher technological growth has been realized over a longer period of peace. This coupled with international economic benefits arising from the activities of multinational monopolies, as well as favourable trade, has created an illusion of class peace. This was taken as evidence of basic value change and the existence of a post-industrial period, exemplified by what was called an "embourgeoisification of workers through attractive economic gains."²⁹

Sartori, who limits ideology to only "extreme" positions says, "ideological mentality represents a typically dogmatic i.e. rigid and impermeable approach in politics."³⁰ Accordingly, he uses 'pragmatism' for "non-ideology".³¹ He then goes on to speak of cultural areas of "rationalism" and "empiricism" asserting that ideological 'isms' were born in the region of rationalism.

Others feel that "while ideology in the United States and Western Europe once flourished, fed by the class antagonism of stratified industrial societies, the age of ideology has come to a close."³²

There is a position of compromise which does not really share the 'end of ideology' proposition, but speaks of "creed-like" and "tacit" ideologies and classifies liberalism as a tacit ideology which is "the smallest ideology that actually can survive."³³

One of the reasons given for the claim of the decline of ideology is the "smooth" working between "Non-Marxist Socialism and Liberalism" or, expressed

in other words, the "convergence and likeness between liberal and socialist thought."³⁴

On the other hand, those who oppose the "decline" argument recognize not only the pervasiveness and persistence of ideology, but its importance in politics as well. To this effect, one states that ideology is "close to the core of our collective concern: how men act politically and how they ought to act."³⁵

Dahl, who is no stranger to pragmatism, acknowledges "the existence of a common and dominant traditional ideology which underlies the flexible give-and-take of American politics."³⁶

Merelman in his argument regarding the prevalence of ideological elements in Western Politics, points to examples from events in the 1960's and 1970's. These include what he calls "the Black Power, New Left Radicalism and their conservative counterparts."³⁷ What about the struggle between labour and capital?

According to Barnes, "Even if political attitudes become increasingly similar, their divergent ideological bases need not disappear."³⁸ This view tries, albeit vaguely, to look at ideology two-dimensionally, with regard both to attitude and base. Thus, it hints that though people with different ideological commitment hold similar attitudes or attain a degree of cooperation on some matters, their basic differences need not disappear.

This discussion leads to the important question of cooperation between two different ideological systems. The following arguments are based on the assumption that ideology appears in two dimensions or tends to "bifurcate." Seliger calls these two aspects "fundamental principles" and "operative ideology".³⁹

'Fundamental principles', he writes, "determine the final goals and the grand vistas in which they will be realized."⁴⁰ 'Operative ideology' denotes principles that underlie day-to-day policies which can be invoked to justify such policies.

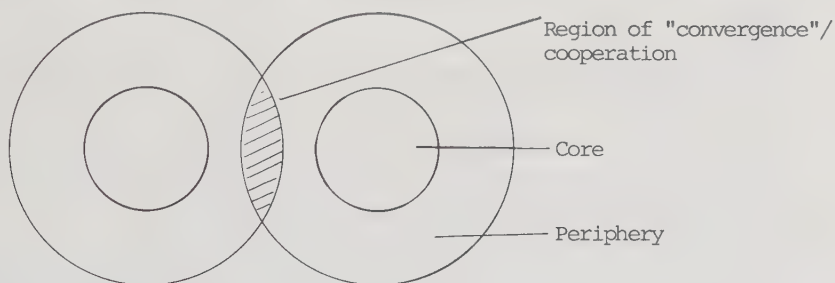
Seliger pushes the discussion to a more confusing stage and observes that in practical politics there is ideological overlapping, giving ideologies "asymmetric" structures. As a result, he writes, "party politics do not become unideological or less ideological but more multi-ideological."⁴¹

Schurmann also contributes to the notion of bifurcation. He says that ideologies consist of two parts, namely 'pure' and 'practical'. According to him

pure ideology mainly aims at "shaping the thinking of people, rather than producing immediate action."⁴² It is inevitably related to the adherent's world view. However, practical ideology, according to Shurmann, is a set of ideas designed to give the individual rational instruments for action.⁴³

According to this discussion ideology in a process of cooperation can be pictured as two concentric circles in which the inner circle can be termed as a core, while the outer circle can be termed as a periphery. As the figure below tries to show, when two such circles are juxtaposed their outer circles intersect each other, creating a region of "convergence" or cooperation. In the figure the core represents the "fundamental principles" or "pure ideology" while the periphery represents "operative ideology" or "practical ideology."

Fig. 1



It must be noted here that the designations 'fundamental and operative', 'pure and practical' ideologies imply the existence of two separate systems within one ideological entity. But in the sense it is understood here, ideological structure is an integrated whole, embodying among other things, views, principles, aims and means. The outer circle in the figure implies cooperation of two different systems in practical and defined actions.

This region of cooperation between differing ideological systems has generated much discussion based on various theoretical traditions and orientations, the two major trends here being those of liberal and Marxist views. On the question of cooperation between two opposing systems, the two traditions follow different approaches. The first holds views of a status quo and reformist nature, the latter follows a dialectical and revolutionary course.

The following are the main trends and propositions forwarded by reformism in opposition to the revolutionary thesis concerning the irreconcilability of the contradictions between labour and capital, or socialism and capitalism:

a) The right-wing social-democratic reformist approach to revising⁴⁴ Marxism through the use of such terms as 'social partnership', 'welfare state', and 'social peace', instead of class struggle, revolution and proletarian dicta-

torship. This school sees the region of 'convergence' as a 'third way' between capitalism and communism. Such views of constructing a middle-way also occur among, for example, a number of African thinkers.

b) There are groups who interpret cooperation between opposing systems as diluting an ideological tradition and as a "degeneration" of Marxism. Participation by communist parties in parliamentary politics and their occasional alignment with social-democrats and similar parties are often given as examples of such degeneration.

c) The concept 'convergence', too, has been discussed in visualizing the feasibility of a new social system, free of the shortcomings of capitalism and socialism by way of a "transformation" of capitalism and a "liberalization" of socialism.

d) The "transformation" of capitalism by itself is a widely discussed issue among reformists. The salient parts of these arguments include a "separation" of management from property ownership right, diffusion of capital through shares, and its "socialization". It is argued that "transformation" has meant the decline of the traditional "entrepreneurial class".⁴⁵

The revolutionary view, on the other hand, considers the problem of cooperation, as other phenomena, in the light of dialectical process of the unity of opposites and struggle, transitory character of everything in a process of constant movement.

Marx, speaking on the question of the communists' relation to other oppositional parties, stated that "communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things".⁴⁶ In doing so, they struggle with others but do this with a conscious goal. As he puts it, "for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class, but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement."⁴⁷

In the process of such cooperation the question of basic principle is to be constantly heeded to. "In all these movements", Marx said, "they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time."⁴⁸

Lenin, also, spoke of "alliances" and "compromise" or agreement on "practical aim" without compromising principles⁴⁹ and organizational independence.

Here the region of "convergence" is a transitory one which should not imply permanence or ideological submission, unless the basic values or principles

are denied. Formation of fronts between revolutionaries and other progressive forces and cooperation between communist and other progressive parties on practical actions, are some of the common examples of such cooperation. This should not give place to the illusion that class struggle has stopped or ideological contradictions have been resolved.

"Peaceful coexistence", which is a call for "mutually beneficial cooperation between countries with different social systems" and "renunciation of the use of force in the settlement of international disputes" is another example to be mentioned. This notion too, it is said, from ruling out "it presupposes an ideological struggle."⁵⁰

Hence, behind the illusion of permanence in the region of "convergence", Marxists see "reformist, revisionist and 'Left'-radical" views that are not compatible with the revolutionary conviction. Those who attempt at "replacing the class struggle by dreams of class harmony"⁵¹ are termed by Lenin "sham socialists".

As for "convergence", "transformation", and "diffusion" of capital, the revolutionaries hold that the state-monopoly character of present day capital, and the distribution of shares does not change the basic ownership relations, or alter the contradictions between capital and labour. As such, private ownership can only be transformed through its replacement by public ownership of the means of production, and this entails a socialist revolution.

Ideologies have always existed and they continue to exist. According to one Marxist writer "ideology, far from disappearing, will be more fully developed."⁵²

Our second focus of discussion concerns the class and illusory nature of ideology. As indicated above, it was Marx and Engels who popularized the concept ideology and related it to class interest. According to the Marxist theory, economic relations of production are the roots of social divisions.⁵³ A person's relation to the means of production decides his place in the social structure. Those who directly or indirectly own the means of production and thereby appropriate the social produce, form the dominant class; while those who shoulder the task of social production are the dominated and exploited class.

The class content and the forms of domination and exploitation vary from one mode of production to another. In the feudal era where land comprises the main economic base, the major classes are those who control it, namely the feudal lords, and who thereby appropriate the surplus produce, and the peasants who work on it. Accordingly, under the capitalist mode of production

the capitalists and the workers are the basic classes; the former as owners of capital and the latter as wage labourers. There may also be emerging, dependant and remnant non-basic classes which represent an aspect of change and continuity of society. Class struggle signifies the contradictory and antagonistic relation inherent in the forms of exploitation which characterize each epoch.

Thus, "Classes are large groups of people differing from each other by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labour, and, consequently, by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. Classes are groups of people one of which can appropriate the labour of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy."⁵⁴

Economic domination, which is usually reflected in socio-political life can also be seen in the ideological sphere. For, "The ruling ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force."⁵⁵ The ruling ideas which are the expressions of the "dominant material relationships" are presented as universal, as covering the interest of all the members of society, and as immutable and natural. However, in reality their basic role is to serve the dominant class. They may appear camouflaged in various forms and concepts so as to give a semblance of neutrality, that all may share in the illusion of the "commonness", a case of "false consciousness", but, in the final analysis, they protect the interest of particular sections in society.

As an antithesis to the status quo ideology, there may arise a new ideology which demands the overthrow of the old one. The existence, however, of such revolutionary ideology "presupposes the existence of a revolutionary class ..."⁵⁶ Therefore, in the Marxist sense, ideology is an "interest-bound" class understanding and interpretation of social reality which in the final analysis is based on the economic substructure.⁵⁷ By this attention is particularly called to the legitimizing function of ideology, whereby each ruling class upholds a system of ideas that will strengthen and justify the sanctity and continuity of the existing social structures. Such ideas and structures they defend may be presented as true and eternal, as serving the interests of all. But in reality, they are in the service of the few privileged, thus becoming illusory.⁵⁸

Self-interest is commonly observable in human behaviour. Unless they are deluded, or denouncing their class interests, people do not usually hold ideas which do not protect or promote their own interests. It is commonsense knowledge that under normal conditions those in the position of power will also culture and promote ideas that will strengthen and augment this position. This is one of the roles an ideology can play.

This notion is not at all new. Antiphon, an ancient Greek sophist asserted that all law is merely conventional and hence contrary to nature.⁵⁹ From the same period, similar argument asserted that justice is only the interest of the stronger, since in every state the ruling class makes those laws which it deems most conducive to its own advantage.⁶⁰ This could be repeated for other epochs as well.

Today, also, as far as practical politics is concerned, the class and illusive nature of ideology is evident. Empirical studies are replete with evidence that those economically powerful are also politically most active.⁶¹

As for the common man, even in the most literate societies politics seems to remain a mystery. Edelman with his background of the American politics contends, "most citizens have a foggy knowledge of public affairs."⁶² Further discussing this illusive situation he writes, politics is for most men "a series of pictures in the mind, placed there by television news, news papers, magazine and discussions."⁶³ However, in practice, he continues to say, politics does "confer wealth, take life, imprison and free people etc."⁶⁴ Speaking about voting he argues "what people get does not depend mainly on their vote."⁶⁵

In class society, an ideology basically strives to protect the interests of a ruling class minority. But when these interests are under the control of the conscious majority, the working class, the "myth" should crack and the illusions must subside. To this effect, it is reasoned that "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."⁶⁶

So far we have seen that ideology exists and it tends to appear in two-dimensional form and has a class nature. Still we have not come to the main issues namely meaning, content and utility. What is ideology? The following brief discussion is to deal with this question.

2.1.3 Meaning and Definition

The study of ideology is a wide and complex subject. It encompasses and influences peoples' views, thoughts, ideas, feelings, attitudes and orientations, as well as their way of cognition of their social and natural surrounding. It extends to vast areas of social consciousness and action.

In order to see how the concept is to be understood, two sets of different definitions from different backgrounds are discussed here.

Conally defines ideology as "an integrated set of beliefs about the social and political environment."⁶⁷

Seliger's "core" definition is as follows: "An ideology is a belief system by virtue of being designed to serve on a relatively permanent basis a group of people to justify in reliance on moral and a modicum of factual evidence and self-consciously rational coherence the legitimacy of the implements and technical prescriptions which are to ensure concerted action for the preservation, reform, destruction or reconstruction of a given order."⁶⁸

Shils and Johnson write: "Ideologies are the creation of charismatic persons who possess powerful, expansive, and simplified visions of the world, as well as high intellectual and imaginative powers."⁶⁹

The problem with these definitions is that, while they try to present the main elements of the ideological structure, they conceptualize the phenomenon in isolation from its basis. They understand it as a "system of belief" or a "design" of "charismatic" individuals or groups who weave it in their minds as though from nowhere or anywhere.

On the other hand, the Marxist definition relates ideology and consciousness as such to "social being"⁷⁰ and in the final analysis to an economic basis. As one analyst put it, ideology is not an act of just an individual thinker, rather it is part of "the social development of ideas", which develop in the process of people's "practical relations with things and with one another."⁷¹

In the Marxist conception, ideology is a result of social being. Although ideologies can move relatively freely, and can be transmitted from generation to generation, in the final analysis they are traceable to definite socio-economic relations.

Ideology in a general sense is related to the whole region of social consciousness. And social consciousness at initial stage grows directly out of social being and consists of "views, ideas, sentiments, feelings, aspirations, manners, customs, and habits which arise among people during the course of

their lives, reflecting their position in society and prompting them to definite actions."⁷² It is said that although the ideological content coincides with these elements, ideology represents the "more developed part of social consciousness."⁷³

In its 'narrow' sense ideology is defined as "the sum total of social theories and views reflecting the nature of the given production relations, justifying the necessity for these relations and interpreting the development of mankind throughout the world from the standpoint of the class which is interested in preserving and consolidating the given production relations. Such a system of views, which is an interpretation of the historical process and a justification of a particular social and state system, and which with the utmost clarity expresses the interests of a definite class and the fundamental features of all the forms of the social consciousness of this class...."⁷⁴

In this study, ideology is used in its programmatic nature as a class-based and action-oriented system of views, ideas, thoughts and theories embodying values or principles, goals or aims, means and tendencies regarding society and change.

2.1.4 Function and Content

As indicated in the definition adopted for this study, ideology, though itself a result of social being, plays an active role in social development and orients people to action. As it has been noted, "The activities of social ideas is displayed in that they serve people as a guide to action, unite them and concentrate their efforts on the accomplishment of certain task."⁷⁵

Ideology enables individuals and groups to locate and to explain themselves to themselves and to others. It also acts as a "tissue of ideas", connecting-organizational patterns of activities with accepted norms and rules. Ideology makes organizational activities "understandable" or "acceptable": it has a legitimizing function.

Ideology does not only serve "as a guide to action", it also indicates the "ways and means"⁷⁶ of building a new society.

In order to elicit commitment and rally its adherents, ideology embodies values or principles, ideals and goals. In brief, it deals with the question of ends-and-means.

2.1.5 Conceptual Use

Ideology, besides its essential use as instrument for people "to navigate

and orient themselves in the sea of politics", as well as its social and organizational role, also lends itself as a conceptual tool for analyzing political thinking.

It is acknowledged to be "especially useful as a concept in the making of cross-system comparisons."⁷⁷ As another author stated: "It purports to tell us how the system is organized, which designed goals can be promoted, what agencies and channels can most effectively be employed to forward the goals in the given setting, and what the required action will cost various groups in the short and long run in terms of status, power, happiness, wealth and so on."⁷⁸

The political arena features a variety of thinkers and activists with different behavioural dispositions and varying orientations. Such dispositions are not always simple and ephemeral manifestations, rather they can be the result of basic commitments and deep rooted views, values or principles. Such orientations may support revolutionary view or it may support a more limited, evolutionary view: it may function to celebrate the status quo, to criticize partially, or to criticise radically."⁷⁹ Put in clearer terms, this shows that there are both reformist and revolutionary orientations. The revolutionary view is not concerned just with criticism and interpreting society in various ways, but its point is, as Marx said, "to change it."

Modern ideologies deal with concrete problems and can be "assimilated, propagated and shaped in order to pursue through concerted action certain economic and political aims." However, as already hinted, the ways and means of pursuing these aims can be different.

In order to examine these different courses, as well as to analyse the ideological stance of a political thinker, the following scheme stimulated by the foregoing discussion is suggested. The scheme is based on the main components of ideological structure, namely views, values or principles, goals and means. It can be elaborated thus: 1) Perception and description of problems; 2) Values or principles, desired and rejected values; 3) Goals or envisaged future society, expressed as political, economic and socio-cultural goals; 4) Means, tactical and strategic concerns: a/ Orientation, b/ Implementation including theoretical assessment; organizational matters; the human element and, assistance or cooperation.

2.2 Brief Elaboration of the Concepts

It should be clear that the sense the above concepts are utilized in this study is influenced by the fact that the subject deals with the strivings

of the political thinkers in the developing regions to bring about socio-economic and political changes. The context varies from colonial to post-independence situations. This means that the concepts have to address themselves, among other things, to the conditions of glaring oppression under imperialism and to a multi-structural setting due to the survival of pre-capitalist socio-economic relations.

2.2.1 Perception and Description of Problems

Ideologies in their socio-political and economic forms deal with concrete societal problems which are both current and of future importance, and bear as well the legacy of history or tradition. Such problems also manifest influence from the international environment.

The way these problems are perceived and described varies from thinker to thinker, mainly depending on the thinker's class position, values, exposure to other ideas and particular circumstances.

2.2.2 Values/Principles

The term value indicates those expressed ultimate ends⁸⁰ or "basic principles", advocated by a thinker to be achieved for the good of "all the people". In mobilization as well as in "system maintenance", values or principles and ideals play an important motivational role as they elicit commitment and the resolve for sacrifice. They give a sense of purpose and act as a moral rallying point and anchor.

As other analysts indicate, values tend to appear in a sort of hierarchy; while some pose as "goal values", others appear as "instrumental" or secondary. It is also possible to talk in terms of "paramount values", "stable paramount values" or "the central values."⁸¹

Values, principles and ideals can be presented as natural, immutable, universal and eternal. But as history shows, values and ideals are subject to change, and "are historically conditioned."⁸² With social change, "old ideas disappear and new ones arise...."⁸³

Central values are expressed basically within the bounds of particular epochs.⁸⁴ One can examine the major epochs and hint briefly at their central values. For example, let us take the tribal/communal, feudal, capitalist and socialist socio-economic formations, and look at their epochal values.

The tribal society is characterized by common ownership of the means of production and patriarchal social relations. People, as members of families and

tribes, strive together for survival under hardships; social life is group-oriented. In such communalistic setting of low level of development of productive forces, survival of the whole tribe or community is of paramount value.

Although it contains the communal features of the previous era at its base, feudal society is, in contrast, one of clear hierarchy where "everyone's place in society depended on the land he held."⁸⁵

The king, princes and the nobility, clerical and secular, by virtue of their control over land ruled the "enserfed small peasantry." In terms of basic value in the Medieval era the idea of a supreme end beyond this life to which all earthly conduct must conform permeated the entire social life.⁸⁶

Such social structures were seen as natural and supernaturally ordained and their preservation expressed in concepts such as "law and order" and "peace and tranquility" was essential.

In negation to the feudal order of social-estates arose capitalism originating in the ambit of the former, but revolutionizing the basis of society. Time-respected values were challenged and new ones were shaped. First, the importance of land as the main source of economic life was gradually outmoded by the growth of boroughs which facilitated the growth of mercantile activities and commodity production. Gradually, in the 19th century, "the industrial revolution" became a reality.

The class which brought about capitalist development was the bourgeoisie. With the growth of capitalism came also new values which were enunciated by various exponents. John Locke, one of the main early spokesmen of the liberal ideology summed up the values of this epoch as "life, liberty and estate."⁸⁷ Such rights were presented as due to man by virtue of his humanity. However, individual freedom or liberty, the supreme value, was defined by and related to the free and private pursuit and enjoyment of economic gains. Locke, whenever he spoke of these "natural rights", it is said, spoke of "property."⁸⁸

It was these ideas in their composite term 'liberty' which were embodied in the celebrated bourgeois documents,⁸⁹ such as "The Bill of Rights" of the English Revolution of 1688, and the "Reform Bill" of 1832; the "Philadelphia Constitution" of 1787 of the American "Founding Fathers", whom Hoestadter calls "men of affairs, merchants, lawyers, planters, businessmen, speculators, investors"; "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen" of the 1789 French Revolution, as well as the celebrated "The Wealth of Nations" of Adam Smith.

With the advent of the new economic base came also new morality.⁹⁰ The rise

of capitalism is further marked by colonial expansion which, as we see later on, affected the course of development of the whole world at various stages. This is aptly summed up in its proper class context and historical perspective as follows:

"From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonization of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development."⁹¹

Out of this development which divided society into two major classes, namely bourgeoisie and workers (a contradiction between capital and labour), arose socialist ideas. These ideas were initially immature, lacking the necessary level of consciousness and theoretical elaboration. As such they were utopian. As the working class gained maturity, however, socialist theory as presented by Marx and Engels, posed a basic challenge to the capitalist values.

The elimination of exploitation of man by man, which will be realized by the "abolition of private property", is central to Marxist thought. The concept of equality here, as other values, is not a moral measure wished by a certain universal reformer.⁹²

The means for the realization of this socialist end is the proletarian dictatorship, which will be materialized after a dialectical class struggle waged between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, resulting in the violent overthrow of the latter. In Marx, such a revolution is historically imperative, bound to come about as a result of the laws that govern social development.

Marxian socialism envisages the organization of workers for the conquest of political power with the purpose of transforming capitalist private property into social property.

As the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" indicates, the proletariat is first organized and then captures the state machinery finally raising itself to a ruling class. From here the proletariat will "wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e. of the proletariat as the ruling class...."⁹³

Appropriate attention is given at the later part of this study to the develop-

ment of Marxism in this century and its place in the developing polities. These generalized epochal principles or values, related to particular socio-political and economic systems (with the exception of the slave mode of production), can be summed up as follows:

Epoch	Tribal/Communal	Feudal	Capitalist	Socialist/Communist
Value	Group Survival-communalism	Preservation of hierarchical social structures as supernaturally ordained	Liberty-individual freedom defined in terms of private property	Equality/collectivism
Economic system	Communal ownership of the means of production	Feudal ownership of land with group orientation at the social base	Private ownership of capital	Public ownership of the means of production
Socio-political (class)	Elders' councils, chiefs and people. No marked class differences	Landlords vs Peasantry	Bourgeoisie vs Working class	Working Class through party leadership, and transition to communism

It is important to note that epochal values or basic values are a composite which are fortified by so-called instrumental values. For example, independence or freedom, which may appear secondary at a certain stage, is, in fact, inevitable to the realization of equality. The elements of liberty, freedom and democracy are embodied in the principle of equality, however, liberty or independence do not necessarily entail equality.

The above discussion concerns primarily desired social ends or values. When a thinker expresses his preference for a certain value, he can also reject other values. For example, in Marxist thought private ownership of the means of production, which is the basis of liberalism, is rejected in favour of a public ownership which safeguards equality. But all notions of equality do not imply socialism. Even a feudal lord could speak of equality. In general, values from a previous epoch are bound to be rejected in favour of new ones which arise as a result of the changed mode of production.

2.2.3 Goals

Values and goals or aims can appear as overlapping. Sometimes values have the designation "basic goals". However, in the sense they are used in this study, goals are described as political, economic and socio-cultural objectives, that can be realized through defined actions. Their realization is supposed to release the expected values. Actions, to be effective in the achievement of goals, have to follow well thought-out tactics and strategies.⁹⁴

Goal attainment is often envisaged in stages, which implies a hierarchy in the "means-goal" process. This is often expressed as "short-term" and "long-term" goals, or in terms of stages and programs.

2.2.4 Means

After the "desired" goals are fashioned the next thing to decide is the means to attain them. These are instruments or intermediary necessities which have to be considered for the realization of the defined objectives. Ideas without action remain empty. In social change, the basic instruments are both human and material which must be harnessed and organized for strategically planned disposition. This means that in goal attainment it is people themselves as conscious beings that must struggle. Such thinking does not necessarily violate the wisdom that "people are an end in themselves."

Under 'means' we include here: orientation and theoretical assessment, implementation, comprising organization, the human element and assistance or co-operation.

2.2.4.1 Orientation

This topic deals with the attitude one has towards the utilization of the instruments or disposition of the forces in the process of goal attainment or change. It is also related to the outlook or perception a person has towards society and its processes of change. There is a reformist orientation and a revolutionary orientation which analyses society from the angle of class struggle. In terms of tactics also, there is a non-violent, legal choice and a violent illegal choice. There exists also a possibility of utilizing each of these as required by prevailing circumstances.

2.2.4.2 Implementation

This aspect deals with the actual engagement of the instruments or forces in the goal attainment process.

2.2.4.3 Theoretical assessment

This aspect is a continuation of orientation, but goes deeper in analysing the theoretical line of the thinker and attempts to dig out his roots of influence. Because of their similar role, orientation and theoretical assessment are sometimes merged together in this study.

2.2.4.4 Organization

Here the term denotes the structuring and disposing of human and material

resources in order to achieve effectively socially set goals. It includes institutional arrangements which embody the roles to be played by particular individuals and groups, who carry out the aims set before them.

Broadly speaking organizations are of a political and a mass nature. Political organizations aspire to power. Parties are the main example of such organizations. Guerilla movements that struggle for power are also in this category; they often act as a military wing of a political party, however.

Mass and professional organizations are more voluntary, broad-based and more limited in objective. Trade unions, women's organizations, youth organizations and teachers' associations are examples of such mass organizations.

2.2.4.5 The Human Element

It is obvious that people are the moving force in the process of change. Organization is possible only when there are people who join. It matters how one views the value and potential of a people's strength in seeking to engage them in the making of history. As we shall see in due course, there are two general approaches to this issue which are each based on varied outlook. The two are the bourgeois elitist or reformist approach and the revolutionary mass approach.

The reformist approach suspects mass-action and puts minimum effort into mobilizing and organizing such movement. It depends, rather, on negotiation and bureaucratic process. On the other hand the revolutionary approach puts great faith in mass movement and makes great effort to arouse the political consciousness of the people and to their organization and mobilization, based on a class analysis of society. Workers and peasants make up the base of such approach which also emphasises the role of the revolutionary intelligentsia. The leadership of a workers' party is also seen to be decisive.

2.2.4.6 Cooperation and Assistance

In the developing polities the role of outside input is significant. There is a negative as well as positive input. Aid, often viewed with suspicion by many and often termed as cooperation in order to stress mutuality, is one of the important factors in the process of change. There are basically three types: economic assistance, technical assistance and military assistance; it can be material as well as moral.

Here, too, while the reformist view is ambivalent about the exploitative aspect of "aid", the revolutionary view is cautious and presents a sense of

self-reliance or mature partnership in trying to curb exploitation. Such a view also stresses the cooperative and internationalist aspect of aid mainly recommending cooperation with the revolutionary bloc in world politics.

2.3 Matrix of Ideas and Conceptual Scheme

People form ideas in relation with their surrounding environment, in contact with things, other people and other ideas. A political thinker who deals with concrete human society is bound to express the conditions of the society to which he is connected. In particular, the society current to the thinker, the socio-economic and political complex which he either partially or totally supports or opposes, is his main point of departure.

As such a current society or a particular socio-economic formation is a result of past internal struggles and external influences. The thinker is bound to express such aspects as well. The future in which he attempts to envisage a new society is another factor important to such a thinker. In addition to these factors which revolve around the concrete current society, other ideas may also influence the thinker.

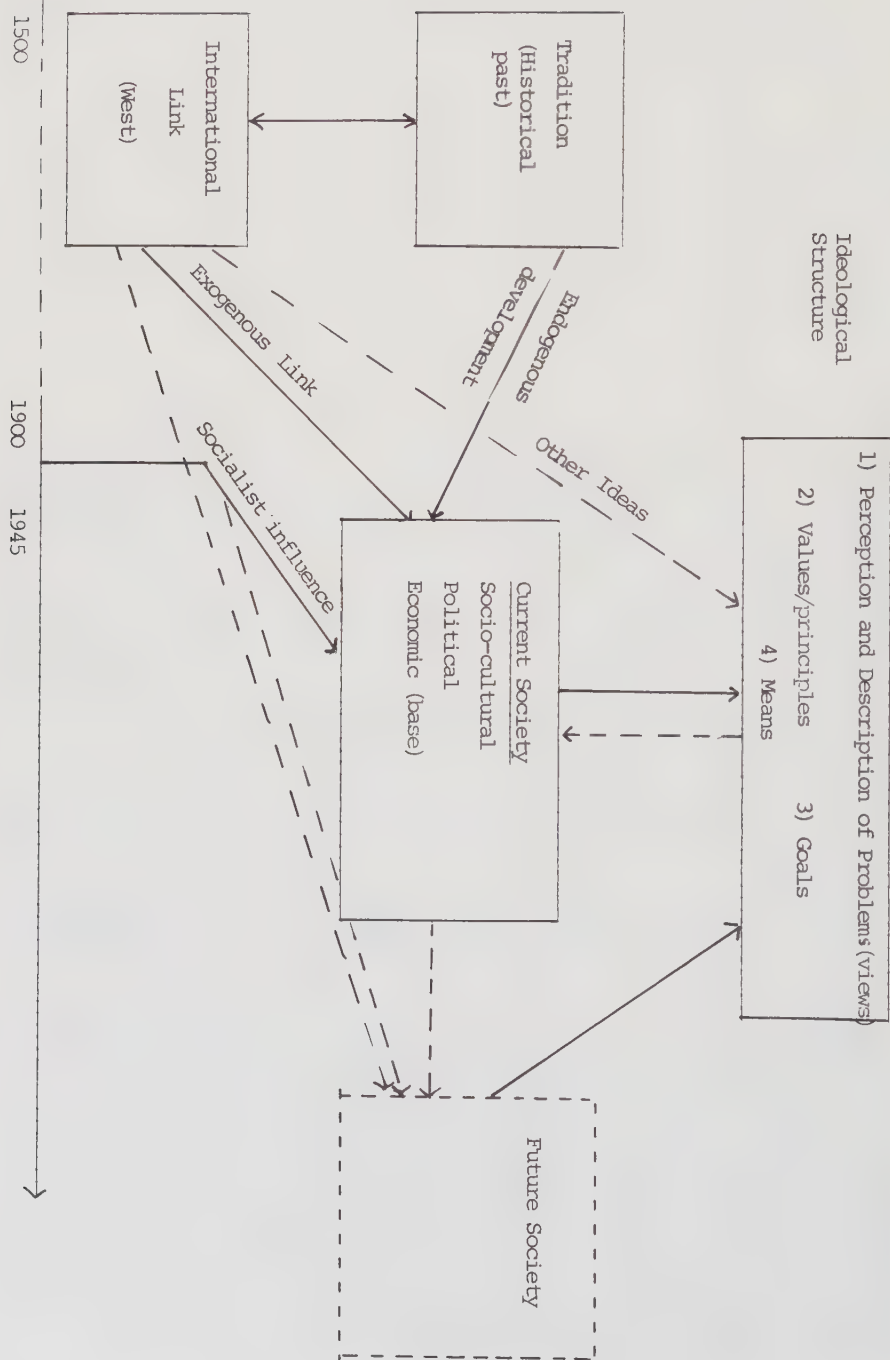
In the study of ideologies in the developing world, these components must be traced carefully, as they contribute to the answers to such questions as why a certain writer thinks the way he does, is he really creating something new or merely reproducing his forerunner?, who has influenced who?

The five elements or components can be condensed as follows:

- a) The current society and its socio-economic, political and cultural conditions which often are the basic point of departure of the thoughts of the intellectual.
- b) The past history or tradition whose repository, albeit in a changed shape, the present is. Here particularly the endogenous politico-economic and social developments and their fate have to be considered.
- c) External influence as related both to the past and present must be dealt with. Trying to study political ideas in the developing societies divorced from the influence of the outside, mainly European world, is futile.
- d) The future which is usually contained in the goals of the thinker is another element of consideration.

These factors, which embody the basis of an ideology, are interwoven into what is termed the historical-ideological perspective. The purpose is to produce a flexible analytical scheme for studying ideologies in the developing polities. The scheme is represented by the following diagram.⁹⁵

Fig. 2



2.3.1 Brief Elaboration of the Components

It is admitted from the outset that these components are fairly wide and make specification uneasy. But the fact is, no political thinker worthy of the name can escape these elements. As ideology is concerned among other things, with political, economic and social situations, carefully considering the salient parts in the development of these elements in each society can help the aim of specification. Some generalizations are made below about the situation of the developing regions, this is followed by a brief discussion of the African case as substantiation.

2.3.1.1 The Current Society

It is not necessary to go into detailed discussion of the socio-economic and political situation of these countries as they appear today. By way of summary, these societies manifest complexity in their organizations as they still embody remnants of ancient and medieval structures, values and norms, side by side with the dominant "modernized" sector which tends to characterize the urban areas.

The majority of the peoples in Asia and Africa still live in rural areas, with subsistence agriculture as their main economic activity. Economic dependence, political immaturity and social problems of serious proportions are rampant.

2.3.1.2 Future Society

This is expressed in the goals or aims of the thinker. It can be put in the clear terms of a choice of a system, or can be left ambivalent depending primarily on the clarity each thinker has attained in his thinking. A future system may be only implied rather than explicitly stated because of expediency or tactics.

There is only one way of realizing a future system or aspects of it, and that is by firm action. This requires clear and realistic understanding of the society's problems and its laws of change. The choice of correct means and consistent and resolute implementation of the tasks at each level is also central. Without planned action, future achievements remain a utopian dream. Expressed principles and ideals can come to fruition only through determined practice.

2.3.1.3 Tradition or Historical Past

In their political life, different regions in various periods of their history have

had their own institutions based on internal socio-economic development. These can vary from "empires" to "large-scale states, centralized chiefdoms, dispersed tribal societies or small autonomous local communities."⁹⁶ In ancient and medieval periods strong states and principalities flourished in various parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, all entered the era of capitalist development as losers.

In terms of economic development, many areas attained a high level of agricultural productivity in ancient and medieval times, so that large cities could flourish and complex state machinery could be sustained. Wide range regional and extra-regional trade was also possible linking distant cultures, such as that of China and India with the Middle-East and Africa.

As in cultures, some of the regions of today's 'Third World' have had their heydays as famed civilizations. For example, the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Indian, the Inca and the Maya cultures have left lasting testimonies to this fact. Written languages, art, sculpture, magnificent temples, pyramids, rock-hewn churches, still survive as living expressions of the achievements of the distant past. Each region has its tradition and culture behind it. However limited these cultures may be, they remain some of the important motivating factors to many thinkers today in their aspirations for future construction. People make their own history, but "under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living."⁹⁷

2.3.1.4 External Influence - Critical Link

Political entities, whether large-scale states or limited communities, exist in touch with their neighbours. The type of relationship can vary from friendly cooperation to outright onslaught and subjugation of each other. Amicable or hostile, relations among political units are part of the fact of life.

As in a game, each unit, interested primarily in self-preservation and then in expansion, tries to manipulate its surrounding in order to retain or increase its power. Here, as modern history has witnessed, the level of technology and the propensity to utilize it for expansion, irrespective of moral and social considerations are essential.

As far as international influence goes for developing polities, the evolution of modern Europe from medieval feudal to industrial capitalist era and the relationships these dynamic developmental processes created between Europe and these regions is a matter of critical importance.

It was mentioned earlier that in Europe the period after the decay of feudalism saw the rise of a new mode of production and new views and ideas that subjected major human relations to considerations of profit maximization. In politics the search for power was to defy all social and moral considerations. With the dawning of the 19th century industrial revolution liberalism reached its apex as the reigning ideology.

Those regions which lacked similar level of development stood to lose when confronted by men driven by the new capitalist ideas.

This, one way or another, has been the fate of today's backward nations. This process of confrontation which critically linked the whole world to the Western commercial complex had crippling economic, political and cultural effects on the life of presently developing polities.

Cooperation which presupposes equality and mutual benefit among the parties is an ideal form of interaction between states. But in the case of modern Europe and the developing world, the case is different. As it happened from the dawning of modern era, particularly during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the main pattern of relation was conquest and colonization which resulted in the distortion and raiming of indigenous institutions.

In the post-independence era, economic and cultural ties strongly connect the former colonies to the West. Although the dominant ties are with the traditional colonial powers, the picture has become more diversified with the appearance of the Socialist countries in the arena of world politics.

2.3.1.5 Other Ideas

In terms of ideology, along with the tradition of liberalism, socialist influence too has found its place in the intellectual atmosphere of the developing world. Although the liberal principles of civil rights and self-determination were set aside under various pretexts by the colonialists, the ideology of liberalism has always been open to those few who could manage to squeeze themselves through the narrow gate of higher education. Such a possibility of open discussion has been much less concerning ideas about socialism. It should be noted that religion, primarily in the inform of Christianity and Islam, with animism at the base, also has had strong influence.

2.4 Comments on the Effects of Link

There are evident political, economic and cultural effects of domination which ought to be recalled when considering ideas in the developing polities. Politically and economically the era between the 16th and the 19th centuries

brought development to Europe and humiliation to the developing regions. The job of empire building that began with the rise of Portuguese and Spanish movements along the Atlantic, gradually culminated in wider trade and colonial interests which reached their apex during the 19th century wave of imperialist expansion that put under European rule the regions of the Middle-East, Asia and Africa. The former independent, autonomous or semi-autonomous political entities, with few exceptions, each in its own way, lost their independence and were made to live under subjection. This process distorted the course of history and natural development of the traditional institutions.

As regards the political and socio-economic effects of this process, much has been written under the themes of imperialism,⁹⁸ colonialism and neo-colonialism. Analysis is also abundant about the effects of capitalist development in its monopoly stage when driven by the need for markets, plunged into a worldwide incursion of conquest and subjugation. Space does not allow any wider treatment of this issue. However, one thing is clear, today there are economically "affluent" regions and poor regions. The poor are those developing regions. Backward in their development, such regions of natural wealth have been colonized and exploited to the benefit of their conquerors, remaining suppliers of cheap raw materials to the industrial world while buying finished goods, mainly luxury and consumer items, at high prices in return.

Colonialism often destroyed or distorted local political and economic institutions. In economic production, the traditional activities of artisans which functioned as the embryo for industrialization in the West were ruthlessly maimed. Both manpower and raw materials were organized for production that benefited the metropolitan nations. Organized and tied to benefit these outside interests, such structures still fail to serve sufficiently the interests of the local peoples. The same can be said about the international arena. Speaking about trade, Myrdal commented that "... the Commercial policies of the developed countries are almost systematically rigid against the efforts of underdeveloped countries to rise out of underdevelopment."⁹⁹

This means that the liberalism which brought affluence to the Western World has not effected similar results in the rest of the world. It is argued that to be an equal partner in the era of capitalism and to launch a course of industrialization, the following conditions must have been available in a country:¹⁰⁰

- a) An internal process which will result in agrarian revolution and the break-up of pre-industrial structures freeing the labour force;
- b) Cooperation and interrelation between the new internal economic classes,

the industrialists, men of commerce and the landlords in the context of a strong national state;

c) Ability to subject external relations, economic and political, to the requirements and dictates of internal accumulation.

Lacking these pre-conditions means subjugation and such has been the fate of the developing world. Inevitably, intellectuals in these regions reflect such legacies; in varying perceptions, value positions and approaches, however.

Local cultures have been put to shame, disdained and destroyed as much as possible. Progressive views were silenced while reactionary structures and practices were retained. Those who could be conscious of their heritage were made to emulate other life-styles to the detriment of their own traditions.

2.5 The Sub-Sahara Africa: Some Records of Historical Development and Linkage with Modern Europe

The brief discussion below takes some historical examples from Africa as supplement to the arguments made above. This is done by way of attempting to substantiate assertions that (1) Sub-Saharan Africa had an internal political and socio-economic development of its own, in some regions even of higher level than the European culture it encountered, (2) European capitalism developed through connection to Africa and other regions, where the former benefited economically from this connection while for the latter damage was done to its internal institutions and development, (3) although Africa of the fifteenth century was taken over by the contemporary Europe, the technological gap was narrow and industrialization could have been effected in many of its regions, had the connections been made in honest and mutual interests.

Africa did not remain in the Stone Age until the 19th century, as the colonial assumption has it. Parts of North and North Eastern Africa had been part of the cradles of human civilization both as contributors and participants in the developing human culture.¹⁰¹

However, with the exception of Ethiopia, much of the development of the Sub-Saharan Africa in institutions and culture seems to have flourished during the first millennium AD, following the spread of the use of iron. Stratified societies with centralized authority, administrative machinery and judicial institutions, came to exist side by side with the horizontal communities that lacked stratification. These developments seem to have remained hidden, for most part, probably until the beginning of the present millennium when the Arab sources of the medieval era began to cast light on them.

In brief consideration one can divide these developments into four tentative historical periods, namely:

a) The period of internal institutional development up to the mid 16th century, b) The period of initial partnership with Europe and subsequent dismay up to 19th century, c) The period of humiliation up to 1969, and d) The post-independence period.

2.5.1 The Period of Internal Institutional Development up to Mid Sixteenth Century

By the end of the 15th century, many of the African regions south of the Sahara had developed organized political, economic and social institutions based on "a sort of feudal rule",¹⁰² with a division of power and wealth between different strata. The economic base of this social formation, however, was probably in long-distance trade rather than only in agricultural surplus.

In West Africa various kingdoms flourished based on iron usage, gold¹⁰³ and ivory trade and agriculture. By the 9th century, the Arabs of North Africa were writing of Ghana as a strong state and a great trader in gold.¹⁰⁴

In this region among kingdoms that later flourished, Songhai, Oyo, Kanem and Mali can be mentioned as important examples.

In Central-Southern Africa also, kingdoms based on iron use, trade and some agriculture flourished during the same period. At the beginning of the 15th century the Monomotapa dynasty "drew the whole of Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique within a single system of authority and security."¹⁰⁵ This state controlled some important gold-mines in the interior and traded with coastal city-states, such as Kilwa which had trade connections with Asia and the Middle East.

In the same region later appeared the Changamire dynasty and "raised the walls of Zimbabwe, round about AD 1500 to the height and strength that visitors may still admire."¹⁰⁶

In the Central-North, also, there arose important kingdoms in this same era. The Bunyoro and Buganda in Uganda, the Congo, Loango, and Ndongo along the River Congo are examples. However, it should be noted that the pastoral regions of the Kenyan interior and Tanganykia did not develop centralized state systems.

Further to the north along the eastern horn of the Ethiopian highlands there developed a highly organized political system based on rich agriculture with

plough and animal use, cattle raising and internal and external trade. Thanks to the existence of written language in this region, as well as outside records, comparatively more is known today about the Ethiopian past.¹⁰⁷

Aksum, the prototype of the later highland Ethiopian (Abyssinian) polity, as the repositior of centuries old culture was at its height of civilization already at the beginning of the first millennium AD. The legacy of Aksum embodied in the highland Ethiopian feudal system spread southwards in a centuries' long process of merger with the exisiting cultures.

Overshadowed by the predominant Aksumite heritage were the southern "Cushitic" states whose existence came to light, primarily at the beginning of this millennium. These states which later on merged within the Ethiopian entity, also developed centralized feudal political system whose influence probably has spread far into southern Africa.¹⁰⁸

Besides these kingdoms and empires, there were influential city states developed along some of the African coastal areas. These can be compared with the Medieval Italian city states¹⁰⁹ that flourished on international trade routes, and served as transmission posts for exchanging ideas and improved ways of life.

In particular, the eastern coast of Africa had a chain of trading posts and famous cities which combined African and Middle Eastern cultural manifestations.¹¹⁰ Along the Ethiopian coast, Adulis which facilitated trade connections between the Mediterranean world and the Indian Ocean¹¹¹ is an example of an ancient port.

It is suggested that by the fifteenth century there were thirty-seven towns along the coastal strip between Mogadishu and Kilwa, along today's Tanzanian coast.¹¹² Trade was their main activity. As in West Africa, here also gold and ivory were exported. Already by the tenth century, trade relations were strong with China. Grenville writes "In the Thirteenth century the first gold coins to be struck at the London mint have been found to be of African gold."¹¹³

The coastal city states varied in their strength and fame. Some appear to have been wealthy and attractive. For example, in 1331 a "wandering scholar" from Morocco journeyed down the East Coast of Africa, over a century and a half before the Europeans sailed to the Indian Ocean, and told of the splendours of coastal cities such as Mogadishu, Malindi, Mombasa and Kilwa, a city which he particularly remembered as "one of the most beautiful and well constructed towns in the world."¹¹⁴

These cities were also known as "stone cities" with "houses built of coral rag with cement of coral lime."¹¹⁵

There were trade connections within the continent also. It is suggested that in the 14th century there was a transcontinental route linking Kilwa with West Africa and the Mali Empire. "Ivory from many parts of inner Africa, Rhodesian gold, copper ingots from Katanga ... passed slowly to Kilwa for market."¹¹⁶

From the above examples one can conclude that by 1500 various regions of Sub-Saharan Africa had well-advanced social formations based on agriculture and trade. In some places a sort of feudal stratification even existed. A culture that combined the iron-age skills of sculpture and architecture flourished, albeit side by side with stone-age practices. However, these political, economic and cultural achievements were just in their process of maturation. For example, compared with European developments of the late medieval era, which were on the verge of the dynamic change that led to the decay of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, the African achievements lagged behind. The separation of the continent from the Mediterranean civilization by vast Saharan desert, internal feuds and endless wars, coupled with the climatic problems, are partly responsible for such a lag.

However, it is clear that had the post-Fifteenth Century contacts with modern Europe been utilized in such a way that the internal economic, political and cultural growth could be sustained, the African scene could have been different. But this history has taken a different course; the modern European man, equipped with post-feudal ideas and morality, as well as improved weaponry, in his quest for unilateral benefits and profit maximization at any cost, intervened.

2.5.2 The Period of Initial Partnership and Subsequent Dismay up to 1900

Here the Machiavellian and the mercantilist morality meet with the traditional and semi-feudal ethos: Modern Europe meets traditional Africa.

Such meeting is witnessed from those early days of modern era when the Portuguese and the Spanish spearheaded the nascent European colonialism. Many non-Marxist intellectuals weave different explanations about the motives for colonialism and imperialism. Adam Smith, in his "hand book" on capitalism, "The Wealth of Nations", however, sees economic interest as the motive for such activity.

According to Smith, the hope of the Portuguese and the Spanish in their south-

ward movement was to reach the sources of spices. The trade of spices was then in the control of Venetian merchants. Another aim was the source of ivory and gold dust which were being brought by the Moorish traders through the desert.¹¹⁷ It was "the sacred thirst of gold"¹¹⁸ that drove the Spanish to the America.

Speaking of the initial determination upon receiving Columbus' report by Spain to take possession of the discovered lands and peoples, Smith writes, "The pious purpose of converting them to Christianity sanctified the injustice of the project. But the hope of finding treasure of gold there was the sole motive..."¹¹⁹ This confirms the Marxist view elaborating the roots of imperialism.

Of the guiding morality in the affair he writes, "Folly and injustice seem to have been the principles which presided over and directed the first project of establishing those colonies; the folly of hunting after gold and silver mines, and the injustice of coveting the possession of a country whose harmless natives, far from having ever injured the people of Europe, have received the first adventurers with every mark of kindness and hospitality."¹²⁰ What about Africa?

The Portuguese appear to be the first Europeans in modern era to reach Africa, South of the Sahara, about five centuries ago. They represented the European need of Africa and Asia for trade in such essential items as gold, ivory, spices and porcelain.

"Iron Age Africa" writes Davidson, "whether in East or West, had much to offer Europe and Asia - gold, wrought iron, ivory, tortoiseshell, even textiles - while there was much that the states of Africa desired to buy in exchange. Slavery was merely a part of the trade from Africa, just as it was merely a part of the trade from Europe."¹²¹ Hence, there was a ground for partnership and mutual growth.

It is recorded that in the early 15th century, improving on Chinese and Arab technology, the Portuguese and the Italian mariners built handier ships and equipped them with better navigation instruments. After various trials, by 1446 the Portuguese captains reached the Senegal river in West Africa, and after about two decades they could sail round the West African coast. By 1482 they reached the Congo River, this was followed by the historic voyage of Vasco da Gama to India from 1499.¹²²

Later, in the middle of the 16th century, the British followed suit and reached

the Guinea coast. They in their turn were followed by the French, the Dutch, the Danes and the Spanish in a new world-wide venture.

When the Portuguese came to Africa in the West, South or East, they did not meet Stone Age culture. They met established societies with long experience in trade, the art of government and culture. As such, the early contacts seemed to be one of partnership. For example, the Portuguese king in his letter of 1512 to the King of the Congo wrote, "Most powerful and excellent King of Congo, we send you our greetings."¹²³

Ambassadors came to African courts and those of Africa went to Europe in those days.¹²⁴ However, these amicable relations did not last long. The African, still living with a traditional outlook, was not a real match for the modern business-minded and enterprising European man. The reaching to the Americas, the need for labour in plantations there, the intensified competition for markets, distorted the picture and change was eminent.

The Portuguese switched emphasis from trade in goods to trade in human captives. The era of slavery began despite the resentment expressed by one of the kings of the Congo who corresponded with the Portuguese King between 1514 and 1540, often complaining about "the consuming desire of Portuguese merchants to grow rich quickly, no matter at what cost to others."¹²⁵

It is said that seeing the intensification of the slave trade aggravated by using "chiefs who could be bribed or corrupted into selling captives", the King of the Congo "protested bitterly to the King of Portugal, asking him to tell his traders to stop buying captives."¹²⁶

Nevertheless, this bizzare affair continued to involve wider interests in Europe for three centuries. Slave trade brought increased misery and ruin to Africa and effected prosperity in Europe. "We cannot reckon how great a damage your merchants are doing", continued the complaint of the Congolese King, "everyday they seize upon our people, and even on the sons of some of my chiefs and my own relatives. So great is the corruption and immorality of all this that my country is becoming depopulated."¹²⁷

The Atlantic trade, the largest of all which involved West and Southern Africa, is said to have affected fifty million people.¹²⁸ The Dutch, the English, the Spanish, the French and the Danes were the main participants of the "chattel slave" trade.

The effect of this trade on Europe is explained in what is known as the "Great Circuit"¹²⁹ trade. European merchants bought cheap industrial goods

and transported these to West Africa where the goods were exchanged for captives. The captives then were transported across the Atlantic to be sold as slaves in exchange for sugar and tobacco which was then sold in Europe at high prices. From this, it is said, the European countries, spearheaded by England and France, made three separate profits. The factory owners profited when they sold their goods to the ship owners and these in turn made double profit by selling the captives and the crops from the Western hemisphere.

England and France in the seventeenth century had been 'hand-craft' countries. A century later, in the midst of the slave trade, they reached the era of mass production and by 1800 were the most powerful countries in the world.¹³⁰

In this era, Africa further experienced assault and destruction of serious proportion. The assaults were both along the coastal regions and in the interior, as happened also during the 16th century. About the interior it is recorded that "The kingdoms of the Ngola and the mwene mutapa" were "the first of the great sub-Saharan States to face the challenge of European invasion."¹³¹

When the Portuguese reached the Eastern coast they found there prosperous city-states. Their captains used fire-arms and "assaulted and looted city after city. They broke with frantic hands into the whole great network of the Indian Ocean trade. In so doing, they ruined it."¹³² Cities such as Kilwa "never really recovered from this time of piracy and conquest."¹³³

Such destruction meant serious set-back to developments in the interior. The coastal areas inevitably came to be seen as havens of piracy, which created an atmosphere of suffocation and degeneration to the internal growth. For some regions slave trade meant depopulation and the intensification of internal feuds and wars, which in their turn caused considerable strain on developmental efforts. "Whereas the sixteenth-century exports of gold, cloth, timber, pepper and even ivory had stimulated indigenous skill", it is commented, "the subsequent export of slaves and import of firearms diverted these energies into violence and set a premium of military power and force."¹³⁴

2.5.3 The Period of Humiliation up to 1960

It is clear that the processes described above helped in preparing the way for the more humiliating experience of the nineteenth-century colonial conquests. The development of capitalism in the West outmoded slave trade and limited commercial activities for which Africa had been suitable. Now it was time for acquiring vast raw materials and cultivating much wider

markets for the home industries. This meant dividing up the whole continent and controlling directly the land and the people, as was formalized by the 1884 Berlin Conference.¹³⁵

With the exceptions of Ethiopia and Liberia, all the regions fell a prey to the colonial avarice. Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium and Italy were the main participants in these actions.

At this stage, the question was one of confronting weakened existing states and chiefdoms and overpowering them through fraudulent treaties of protectorate and wars of attrition. The sixteenth century wars by the Kongo and Ndongo kingdoms, which resulted in the defeat of the Portuguese and which were later repeated in the 19th century when the Angolan region was allocated to the same colonizers; the 1880's resistance against the French in Dahomey; the 1896 Adwa war where the Ethiopian army defeated the Italian invaders; the Ashanti resistance in the West and the Zulu challenge in South Africa against the British imperialist attempts, are but some of the living examples of brilliant armed resistance offered by the African states in opposition to colonialism. It was by no means an easy occupation of just helpless tribal homesteads.

The negative effects of such imperialism on local populations are many. Put in a sentence, it meant that the peoples, their institutions and natural resources were moulded and geared to serve the interests of the outside world, hence leaving their "own course of history" and development.

2.5.4 The Post Independence Period

The post World War II world situation created strong nationalist movements that sought independence from the colonial powers both in Asia and Africa. In 1940's, the inevitability of this historical wave was realized by the major colonial powers, namely Britain and France. This led to protracted struggle, maneuvering and negotiations on bilateral and multilateral levels which gradually brought the creation of new states as witnessed in late 1950's and early 1960's in Africa.

During the preparatory period careful procedures were worked out to keep strong links between the newly independent states and the colonizing countries. The French colonies ended up in the French Community with the exception of Guinea, and the British Colonies joined the Commonwealth.

The economic links continue even more intensified in this post-independence period. Africa's natural resources are far from fully utilized; the competi-

tion for their control is still being vigorously pursued, albeit through legalized structures.

It is in consideration of such background that any African thinker must be studied. Most of the serious thinkers belong to the colonial era, and as such they reflect the situation under colonial rule and the aspiration of building independent states.

There are few of what one could call post-colonial thinkers in Africa, because of their particular concern with the present aspect of the African political developments.

As will be seen below, the thinkers studied reflect these problems from varied view points and express values and goals with differing ideological assumptions.

2.6 Classification of Thinkers and the African Conditions

In general terms there are two ways social processes and change can be viewed. The first is gradualist, evolutionary or reformist, while the second is revolutionary. Further, both approaches can be roughly associated with the existing two major ideological traditions, viz., liberalism and socialism, as these appeared in the 19th century. There has been an attempt to carve out a 'middle way', which one can relate to the transitory region of "convergence" discussed earlier. Usually the reigning, or older, ideology is oriented to the status quo.

Liberalism, the ideological expression of capitalist production relations, was the theoretical guide of the bourgeoisie in their struggle against feudalism and in restructuring socio-economic relations of the archaic order. The process which made its impact felt during the Italian Renaissance passed through the mercantilist period to effect the 19th century industrial development of massproduction. These arduous efforts were finally stamped as irreversible when the class that effected them wrested political power. Until the socialist challenge of the 1917 October Socialist Revolution, liberalism was the reigning ideology.

Its adherents uphold gradualism, stressing the coherence in the social fabric. Thinkers in the liberal tradition are often influenced by the legacy, among others, of the Platonic understanding about the body social, and Roman legality.

For example, Emile Durkheim, a celebrated bourgeois sociologist, stressed "order and unity in the body social."¹³⁶ Terms such as social integration,

organic solidarity, cohesion and authority, which are so vivid in Durkheim,¹³⁷ pervade the literature of modern liberal, social and political theories.

In line with the Platonic¹³⁸ tradition, for example, Pareto underlines the role of elites in society. According to him, when the circulation of elite is impeded, social equilibrium is upset and the social order will decay.¹³⁹ He saw inequality, physical, as well as intellectual and moral, as inevitable components of social conditions and asserted that being the most able, the elite must rule.¹⁴⁰

Hence, order or unity of body social, with its attendant inequality, is seen as a natural phenomenon. Change is envisaged within the bounds of legality, bureaucratic arrangements and negotiations or within the "system". However, social status is non-ascriptive, unlike in the feudal order. Property, however, does the regulatory work.

In such elitist traditions, mistrust of the concept "mass" is evident even today. Putnam observes that some politicians "continue to fear the ignorance of the masses and to believe that politics and government is purely the business of an able, educated, wise and responsible elite."¹⁴¹ In the same line, a British politician is said to have stated that "public involvement in government should end at the voting booth."¹⁴²

On the other hand, the revolutionary view of the socialist tradition sees society in terms of contradictions based on economically entrenched class interests, which necessarily express themselves in the socio-political arena. The unity of body social is dialectical - the unity of opposites whose irreconcilable contradictions can only be effectively resolved through revolutionary ruptures.

Marxist teaching envisages the inevitable overthrow of the existing capitalist system by the working class, who will then control political power and socialize the economy in order to abolish class distinctions, and thus bring about equality. Therefore, its orientation is non-elitist, pro-mass and based upon workers and peasants as a political force.

Here politics plays a major role in effecting rapid change. Evolutionary movement as a general interpretation of social progress is acceptable but should be abridged by conscious human action. The conviction is that inevitable processes be pushed forward. That is one of the areas where the relevance of Marxism to the backward regions of the world is underlined even by some reformists.

Where then is the determinative role of economics? This is one of the aspects of Marx's teachings generating 'controversy'. According to Engels, however, "It is not that the economic condition is the cause and alone active, while everything else is only a passive effect. There is rather an interaction on the basis of economic necessity, which ultimately always asserts itself."¹⁴³ Therefore, in particular the role of politics and that of theory in effecting change are quite essential.¹⁴⁴

Both in the Socialist experience and in that of the developing world, politics is to effect a new society and a new pattern of living. It is not to stamp what has already been achieved through gradual and centuries old processes as in the case of liberalism. However, this similarity does not mean these camps necessarily follow a path of rapid change or revolution. The use of state machinery to effect economic change does not necessarily make one a socialist revolutionary. Neither is the violent resistance to colonialism and the achievement of independence a socialist revolution, in itself.

In Africa, also, the approach to social change follows these two major trends, namely, reformist and revolutionary, albeit with considerable variations due to the particularity of the African experience.

At this juncture it is essential to look at some aspects of African communal traditions, much of which still linger through village communities that represent the majority of the population. These communal practices which are related to a particular mode of production, have had evident influence on modern African thinkers and affect the way they formulate their thoughts. Actually, African pre-colonial history witnesses a social stratification that was not based on agricultural surplus for most part, as was the case in European feudalism. Rather, "long-distance"¹⁴⁵ trade seems to have played an important role in sustaining the thinly spread ruling strata.

It is said that pre-Iron Age inventions, namely the plough and the wheel, which have been important in agricultural revolutions, did not penetrate sub-Saharan Africa where the hoe remained the main instrument of production.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, with the exception of Ethiopia, animal use in agriculture and irrigation work was limited.

This, in turn, tended to retard the growth of large cities, and did not free more hands for the arts and other related activities. Here, village community flourished with considerable autonomy as long as the members forwarded the necessary dues to whoever claimed their territorial state - either chiefs, kings or colonial rulers. Even today in an era of developing 'nation-states',

village communities with their traditional practices of mutual help and group orientation, though modified, remain considerably strong.

Thus, it can be argued that African societies, although stratified, saw neither European feudalism, which is based on land-tied serfdom, nor an Asiatic style of "despotism" which flourished on "generalized slavery." The gap between the rulers and the ruled is said to be fairly narrow. As land was in abundance and used in common for limited production, its importance appears to have never been the same as in Europe. Rather, people and their survival was most important. In such a situation "social cohesion and cooperation"¹⁴⁷ were important. Mutual assistance in everyday activities, care for the sick, aged and destitute were the task of the extended family and community.

Ideology at this stage is characterized by the struggle for the "self-preservation of the whole tribe, by the interest of the whole people to preserve their social organization and to feel strong and secure in it."¹⁴⁸

As we will see later, this heritage of group-oriented communal life has influenced many modern African thinkers. The populist tendency which is evident among most of them, to some extent, has its roots in the village life. Many attempt to translate the village experience to a territorial level, blending it with some aspects of modern ideologies. Solidarity and the unity of the populace are thus often stressed. On the one hand, such an attitude to social cohesion and the denial of class struggle, appears to be similar to that of liberal theorists, while on the other, the prevalent group-orientation of society tends to support a socialist tendency. The proposition of "African socialism" with its local brands has further aggravated the already confusing picture of ideological trends. Although the next chapters hope to clarify the confusion, it is essential to see here how, through the imparting of ideas, efforts are made by liberals to impress the capitalist path on the developing polities.

2.6.1 Comments on the Academic Atmosphere of the Intellectuals

The sub-Sahara African elite, including its political thinkers, for most part, were born and brought up under the influence of colonialism and imperialism. The educational system, the main aim of which was to produce limited functionaries for peripheral services in the colonial machinery and monopoly enterprises, afforded these people "the most elementary liberal education with a heavy religious bias"; which, one observes, is "an excellent vehicle for indoctrinating the colonized with a cult of subservience."¹⁴⁹

Colonial education hid the exploitative and self-seeking motives of imperialism and presented it as a civilizing mission which was to benefit the subjugated.

Therefore, primarily due to "accessibility and utility", nationalists in most cases chose the doctrine of liberalism in opposing the colonialists and bringing about independence. It is obvious that Marxist-Leninist theory, as a bulwark against imperialism, could always be counted upon. However, its effective use in most cases was to come later.

In most cases in Africa, independence meant gradual replacement of European personnel by local functionaries carefully groomed in the colonial apparatus. These structures for the most part have remained intact and the economic sphere in particular was left under the control of the metropolitan monopolies. Such process often attempted to bring to power people with a conservative background, such as chiefs, kings, emirs and trusted intellectuals, whose reactionary outlook at times was at odds even with liberalism.

Through careful "adaptation" process a new era of relations was developed between the emerging states and the colonial powers. To suit this post-independence situation "new models" and "theories" were introduced to guide trends in these states and supporting ideas were infused through the educational institutions, and by means of the experts and advisors to the new governments.

The most prominent of these "export models" are community development and the theory of 'modernization'. These models dominate both the theoretical and practical efforts in Africa. Universities discuss them, ministries are created for them, and projects are established to embody them.

The community development model, which was formulated by the British colonial office in 1920's, was designed for "native development" in the colonies.¹⁵⁰ The model, with modifications, has spread to most of the under-developed regions, mainly after their independence. Concepts such as 'self-help' and 'private initiative' are stressed in this approach, driving home the classical tenet of capitalism: "competitive economic individualism."¹⁵¹ This model has been tried in many regions; one of its critics, however, says it "has no relevance for the developmental needs and requirements of the under-developed states of tropical Africa."¹⁵²

The "theories" of modernization and development are the most up-to-date "export models" which picture the under-developed regions in a dualistic perspective. Society is viewed on a scale as moving from "traditional subsistence" to a "modern/capitalist" stage, as the process of modernization takes place.

However, this duality is assumed to be based on "consensus" and "organic solidarity", manifesting a unity of interests,¹⁵³ rather than class conflict. This assumption, while it hides the basic element of capitalist individualism, strongly appeals to the traditional solidarity prevalent in rural population.

While these models and "theories" are readily accepted by the reformists, revolutionaries reject them as the ideological tools of neo-colonialism, that are meant to assure the continuation of imperialist domination and exploitation. While economic nerve centers are under the control of metropolitan corporations, and while a handful elite blocks the masses from effective participation, development is an impossibility.

Considering the literature of the "theories" of modernization at length, one author has stated that "all evidence demonstrates that this method is theoretically inadequate, empirically invalid and ineffective policy-wise."¹⁵⁴

The main criticisms of the models concentrate around the following:

- a) these approaches try to ignore the historical and structural realities of the under-developed regions where the real roots of backwardness are to be found;
- b) they make wrong diagnosis and priorities regarding under-development and thus propose solutions which will only perpetuate dependence;
- c) they propose piece-meal change which can justify stagnation;
- d) their approach is elitist and cannot satisfy the basic needs of the masses and the requirement of the rapid development of the whole society.

2.6.2 Categorization of the Thinkers

In line with the above discussion and as wider readings in the available political literature of the region reveals, the sub-Sahara African political scene features thinkers of reformist and revolutionary ideological trends.¹⁵⁵

In this study the reformists who are in majority are sub-divided into

- a) Moderate Reformists and b) Radical Reformists or revolutionary democrats of an earlier stage, while the revolutionaries are sub-divided into
- a) Revolutionary Democrats and b) Scientific Socialists.

As the later discussion is to show, this classification traces the two dominant ideological trends, viz. capitalism and socialism. As Brutents, writing on the progress of the national liberation revolutions has stated, "Depending on the orientation of the leading forces, the line of development of the national liberation revolution sooner or later points towards only two possible and socially antithetical variants: either socialism or capitalism."¹⁵⁶

This line of thinking leaves no illusion about the possibility of a "middle-way" alternative system. However, it recognizes the existence of a transitional stage, which characterizes a number of developing polities in Africa and Asia.

It is these transitional cases which are represented in the above classification as radical reformism and revolutionary democracy. Such a transitional situation arises because of the under-developed nature of the productive forces, something which precludes immediate domination by the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. It is also such a situation which has given the petty-bourgeois its political significance in these regions. With this also arise those ideological variants which reflect the dominance of petty commodity production and communal land use.

In brief, the four trends are represented by: a) those who advocate superficial changes in the existing relations of their country to imperialism and with regard to internal socio-economic structures; b) those who advocate radical reforms both in terms of external relations and internal structures, but lack a consistent revolutionary line of thinking; c) those who consistently reveal the influence of Marxist methodology in their analysis, and clearly tending to advance towards socialism; d) those forces which have definitely taken the Marxist-Leninist ideology as their guide.

The analytical scheme provided above is hopefully an appropriate tool for studying the four categories of thinkers, and for working out the essential characteristics which make generalization possible.

The thinkers in the various categories, based in varying ideological assumptions, differ from each other in their thoughts. As the ensuing chapters examine, these differences can be judged on the basis of a) how the particular thinker understands and explains existing political and socio-economic problems; how he relates these problems to the tradition of that society as well as outside influence; b) what values and principles he prescribes; c) which socio-economic and political goals he advocates for the future society; and d) what means he utilizes in order to achieve the set goals; his orientation towards various tactics; the implementation process; the theoretical influence he reveals; his views on the role of organization and human involvement, and finally his views on outside assistance and cooperation.

NOTES to CHAPTERS 1 and 2

- 1 Archie Mafeje, *Science, Ideology and Development: Three Essays on Development Theory* (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978) p 47.
- 2 G.V. Solodovnikov "The Present Stage of the Non-Capitalist Development in Asia and Africa," *Studies on Developing Countries* No 74 (Budapest: Center for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1973) pp 7-8. Here a classification on the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of all the countries of the developing regions is presented as follows:
a) Imperialist countries, these are Japan and South Africa
b) Average level of developed capitalism with evidence of feudalism e.g. Turkey, Brazil and India,
c) Weaker feudalism with feudal and pre-feudal relations e.g. Iran, Thailand and many Latin American countries
d) Dominating feudal relations e.g. Saudi Arabia, pre-revolutionary Ethiopia and Afghanistan,
e) Feudal and tribal relations (over 80 countries including the majority of the sub-Sahara African countries),
f) Countries of Socialist orientation (12, e.g. Tanzania, Algeria and Guinea).
- 3 Paul E. Sigmund Jr. Ed., *The Ideologies of the Developing Nations* (New York: Frederik A. Praeger, 1963) p 4.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., p 12.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid. pp 13-14.
- 11 Frederick M. Watkins, *The Age of Ideology - Political Thought, 1750 to the Present* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc. 1964), p 59.
- 12 Ibid., p 106.
- 13 Ibid., p 107.
- 14 Ferrel Heady, *Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc., 1966), p 59.
- 15 Ibid., p 62.
- 16 David E. Apter, *Ideology and Discontent* (London: The Free Press of Glencoe Collie, Macmillan Ltd., 1964) p 18.
- 17 See Ibid., pp 23-24.
- 18 Ibid., p 39.
- 19 K.N. Brutents, *National Liberation Revolutions Today* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), p 9.

- 20 Apter mentions some of the main "non-capitalistic" and "non-socialistic" "middle ways" as follows:
Nehru's "democratic collectivism"
Senghor's "African socialism"
Nyerere's "communitarianism"
Ture's "communaucracy"
Nasser's "democratic, socialist, cooperative democracy". See Ibid., p 12.
- 21 R.D. Putnam, "Studying Political Elite Culture: The Case of ideology," *American Political Science Review*, 65 (1973), p 651.
- 22 S.H. Barnes, "Ideology and the Organization of Conflict: On the Relationship Between Thought and Behavior," *The Journal of Politics*, 28 (1966), p 513.
- 23 G. Sartori, "Politics, Ideology and Belief Systems," *The American Political Science Review*, 63 (1969), p 398.
- 24 John R. Nellis, *A Theory of Ideology* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1977), p 18.
- 25 David W. Minar, "Ideology and Political Behavior," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 5 (1961), p 317.
- 26 Ibid. p 316. Minar writes "the term itself was brought into social science by the philosophes." But it does not appear today in its original sense. Plato's "opinion" is said to represent an earlier designation of the concept, though in a different epistemological sense.
- 27 This is acknowledged even by bourgeois liberal writers. Seliger calls Marx the founder of the modern ideology. See Martin Seliger, *The Marxist Conception of Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p 18. See also John Plamenatz, *Ideology* (London: Pall Mall Press Ltd., 1970, p 21) It must be noted that Seliger's treatment of the subject is different from that of Marx. In a Marxist sense, ideologies are results of social existence and have material and class base, thus: "The phantoms formed in the human brain are also, necessarily, sublimates of their material life process, which is empirically verifiable and bound to material premises." See K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), p 42. Also See Lenin, *Selected Works V. I* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p 24.
- 28 See Plamenatz, *ibid.*, pp 24-25 and Sabine writes "for Sorel ... social philosophy became a myth or a vision or symbol to unite and to inspire the workers in their struggle against a capitalist society." George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* 3rd ed. (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1963) p 894. Edelman writes, Myth is used to account for extraordinary privileges or duties, for great social inequalities, for severe burdens of rank, whether this be very high or very low." Murray Edelman, *The Symbolic Uses of Politics*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), p 18.
- 29 Ronald Inglehart "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies," *The American Political Science Review* 65 (1971), p 991.
- 30 Sartori, *op,cit.* p 402.
- 31 Ibid., p 399.

- 32 Richard M. Merelman, "The Development of Political Ideology: A Framework for the Analysis of Political Socialization," *The American Political Science Review* 63, (1969), p 752. And for further consideration see Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology* (New York: Collier Books, 1961) pp 393-407.
- 33 Martin Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, (London: Georg Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1977) p 38. See also B. Williams, "Democracy and Ideology," *The Political Quarterly* XXXII, 4 (1961), p 384.
- 34 Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, p 32.
- 35 Putnam, *op.cit.* p 651.
- 36 Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, p 54 quoting R.A. Dahl (ed.) *Political Opposition in Western Democracies* (New Haven and London: 1966) p 64.
- 37 Merelman, *o.cit.* p 752.
- 38 Barnes, *loc.cit.*
- 39 Seliger, *Ideology and Politics*, p 109.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.*, p 102.
- 42 Franz Shurmann, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China* (Berkely, Low Angeles; University of California Press, 1973) p 21.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p 22.
- 44 See for example O. Reinhold and F. Ryzhenko (eds.) *Contemporary Anti-Communism* (Moscow 1976) pp 206-218.
- 45 Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege. A Theory of Social Stratification* (New York: MacGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), p 347. See also J.K. Galbraith, *A Contemporary Guide to Economics Peace and Laughter*. New York: Andre Deutsch, 1971.
- 46 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works in One Volume* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1973), p 62.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 *Ibid.*, p 63.
- 49 Lenin says "... not a single political party could exist without ... alliances." Lenin, *What is to be done?* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), p 18. Quoting Marx, he also speaks of "agreement in practical aims" not in principles. See Lenin, *Selected Works v.III* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), p 109. On compromise see *ibid.*, p 171. However, one can also observe a case of "curious interweaving of socialist and bourgeois views among the working class in capitalist society." D. Chesnokov, *Historical Materialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), p 366.

- 50 B. Ponomaryov, et.al. (eds.) History of Soviet Foreign Policy (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973), p 513.
- 51 Lenin, Selected Works v.II, p 254.
- 52 Chesnokov, op.cit. p 356.
- 53 K. Marx, Capital v.III (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), p 385.
- 54 Lenin, Collected Works v.xxix (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965), p 421.
- 55 Marx and Engels, The German Ideology op.cit. p 65.
- 56 Ibid., p 68.
- 57 See ibid., p 67. Also see Marx and Engels, Selected Works, p 690.
- 58 Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, p 63.
- 59 Sabine, op.cit., pp 30-31.
- 60 Ibid., p 31.
- 61 See Verba and N.H. Nie, Participation in America, New York: Harper & Row, 1972. Also see Barnes op.cit. pp 523-524.
- 62 Edelman, op.cit. pp 8, 63.
- 63 Ibid., p 5.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid., p 3.
- 66 Marx and Engels, Selected Works, p 45.
- 67 Conally, op.cit. p 2.
- 68 Seliger, op.cit., p 120.
- 69 E. Shils and H.M. Johnson in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences v.VI (New York: The Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968) p.69.
- 70 The concept refers to the being of people "in their actual life-process" involving multi-sided and complex relationships- group, family, institutional, productive, etc. See Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, p 41, and Chesnokov, op.cit. p 341.
- 71 Maurice Cornforth, Dialectical Materialism, The Theory of Knowledge, v.III (Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., 1976), p 68.
- 72 Chesnokow, op.cit., p 341.
- 73 Ibid., p 353. Here the initial stage of social consciousness is called social psychology and it is marked by a "direct unity of people's political, ethical, aesthetic and other views without adequately differentiating them." Ibid., p 342. In short, this indicates a unity of

"thoughts and emotions." On the other hand, ideology represents a more developed part of consciousness. It is not marked by direct connection with the life of the class, rather it is more of "objectivised consciousness of a social class, free from individual manifestation in the thoughts and feelings of particular individuals." Ibid., p 353. Thus, ideology is related to social views and theories which give a general picture of society. Social psychology embraces a totality of ideas which are not sharply separated from each other, while ideology can be divided into separate forms - people's political and juridical views, as well as their aesthetic, ethical, philosophical and other views." Ideology gives an interpretation of separate aspects of these views and it cognises "by its own specific method."

74 Ibid., p 354.

75 Afanasyev, op.cit. p. 328. He further states: "The role ideas play depends on the class that advocates them, whether it is progressive or reactionary, on how correct they reflect the requirement of the material life of society and on the extent to which the ideas meet the interest of the people."

76 Ibid.

77 Minar, op.cit. p 318.

78 Conally, op.cit. p 2.

79 Ibid., p 54.

80 See Vernon Dyke, Political Science: A Philosophical Analysis (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1960), p 8. He states that values deal with ends and thoughts. They are normative categories that express conception of the desirable. They endorse ends and purposes. But this writer does not explain the social basis of such values.

81 O. Rheinhold, et.al.(eds.) Op.cit. pp 288-291.

82 Chesnokov, op.cit., p 403.

83 Afanasyev, op.cit., p 325.

84 Epochs exercise general limitations on thinkers. See Marx and Engels, Selected Works, p 395. Marxists recognize five socio-economic formations or epochs corresponding to various modes of production viz., primitive-communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and communist. See Chesnokov, op.cit., p 504.

85 Robert M. Rayner, British Democracy. An Introduction to Citizenship (London etc." Longmans, Green and Co., 1946), p 5.

The feudal hierarchy in Britain can be illustrated as follows:

The hierarchy: King, owner of the land, grants holdings to -

Barons, who sublet to -

Knights, who control the -

peasants (villeins) who work on land, give services and fight.

The guild system represented relations in the cities.

- 86 Harold J. Laski, *The Rise of European Liberalism* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1947) pp 21-23. See also Sabine, *op.cit.* p 225. Both the secular and clerical rule was said to be "in accordance with divine and natural law."
- 87 Sabine, *op.cit.*, p 528.
- 88 *Ibid.* See also for more arguments John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Civil Government ...* J.W. Gough (ed.) (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), p 15.
- 89 See Rayner *op.cit.*, pp 10 and 14 about the British Bills of Rights. The French doctrine of Liberty, Equality and Brotherhood too build down to the parliamentary reform of the middle class and did not effect conditions for equality, see *ibid.*, p 13. As Richard Hoestadter explains the American constitutionalists saw a human being as "an atom of self-interest." Richard Hoestadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made it* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p 3. They based the Constitution on the fear of "democracy" as "turbulence" (p 4). They suspected the masses whom some termed as "turbulent and changing" and "Poor reptiles." In agreement with Locke, among the many liberties "freedom to hold and dispose property is paramount." p 12. Hence, government was thought to be "based on property." p 13. Property interest as expressed in "self-interest" is central to Adam Smith in his *The Wealth of Nations* (ed. Ernest Rhys) V.1 (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1911), p ix.
- 90 For comparison of Medieval and modern attitudes about profit see Adam Smith *op.cit.* p 362. For the changed attitude towards morality, religious or otherwise, as early as the 15th century, see Niccolo Machiavelli, *Art of War. The Prince, The Tudor Translations*, ed. W.E. Henry (London: Published by David Hutt at the sign of the Phoenix Long Acre, 1905), pp 321-323.
- 91 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works op.cit.*, p 36.
- 92 On values, principles and ideals, the Marxist view is expressed in the following quotations: "The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* pp 46-47. It is also stated that "the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in men's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. *Ibid.*, p 411.
- 93 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, p 52.
- 94 The term strategy, particularly in a process of change or revolution, indicates the determination of the direction of the main blow at a given stage and the elaboration of a corresponding plan for the disposition of forces - human and material, towards the attainment of the set goal. Tactics deal with the determination of the line of conduct or action within a given strategy. They are actions within a strategy concerned with winning particular segments. Tactics change often depending

- on circumstances, while strategies are enduring until the attainment of the set goal or stage.
- 95 The diagram attempts to summarize what this study is trying to bring forth. Its advantage is that it tries to concretize on one page what has taken many in writing. However, one has to use such "models" with a realization of obvious disadvantages, one of which being that they appear mechanical and cannot reveal the ever present movement and dialectics of society. Here, both of the terms, ideology and history are conceptualized in the Marxist theoretical tradition. Ideology, as part of the superstructure, stands on the economic basis. See also p 199 below.
 - 96 Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman, *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1960), p 25.
 - 97 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, p 95.
 - 98 See Marx and Engels, *On Colonialism* op.cit., pp 9-60, 273-308. On the Analysis of imperialism see for example V.I. Lenin op.cit. pp 634-716. Andre Gunder Frank, *On Capitalist Development*, Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1975. Harry Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism* (New York and London: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1969), pp 115-167. This book concentrates mainly on US imperialism. One of the arguments in favour of the economic motive of imperialism is the fact that at the early stage jointstock companies were even commissioned to rule and to maintain armies in the newly acquired territories. For example, Germany began its conquest of East Africa by chartering German East Africa Company, Britain with Royal Niger Company in West Africa; Imperial British East Africa Company to occupy Kenya; Cecil Rhodes's British South Africa Company for the conquest and administration of Rhodesia (1889-1930). Belgium's Private Congo Independent State too was run in a form of company administration with interest of rubber production for the king. See P. Curtin et al. *African History* (London: Longman group Limited, 1978), pp 476-477.
 - 99 Gunnar Myrdal, *The Challenge of World Poverty* (New York: Vintage Books), p 294. The solution he proposes is "generosity" and "solidarity" but not revolutionary restructuring, see p 298.
 - 100 See Samir Amin, "Self Reliance and the New Economic Order," *Monthly Review* v. 29 (1977), p 1.
 - 101 See Philip Curtin pp 44-55. Here Egypt is described in brief as the first African civilization. Further to the South Meroe and Axum are mentioned as examples of ancient cultures in this region.
 - 102 B. Davidson, *Guide to African History* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1971), p 44. The types of social formation in Africa at this stage, as well as later on, is an issue of controversy. It is clear that, though stratified societies existed, Africa did not develop the European type of feudalism. The economic base which sustained the ruling strata did not, in the main, originate in the agricultural sector as a form of surplus appropriation of the peasantry, as was the case in Europe. It is argued that "agriculture was least liable to produce a surplus," see Peter C.W. Gutkind And Peter Waterman, eds. *African Social Studies* (London: Heinemann, 1977), p 83. Long-distance trading is proposed as probably the main economic source for sustaining the ruling strata. However, this does not mean that the communal villages did not produce surplus. But as sub-Saharan Africa did not participate in the pre-Iron Age discoveries, the method of farming was backward, and the hoe was the main

- instrument. Irrigation, plough and animal use, which were essential in Eurasian agriculture, were not introduced. This was reflected in the thin layer of the ruling strata as wealth did not accumulate considerably, and as such it is argued that Africa did not produce the type of feudal-serf relation of Europe, neither did it experience "generalized slavery" and Asiatic type of "despotism." Ibid.
- 103 Davidson, op.cit. p 33.
- 104 Ibid., p 28.
- 105 Ibid., p 45. Walter Rodney calls the kingdom "Muene Mutapa." See J.D. Fage and Roland Oliver, Gen. eds. The Cambridge History of Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p 579.
- 106 Davidson, op.cit., p 47. See also Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1972), pp 75-80.
- 107 Of the many books written on Ethiopia, the following are mentioned to give a glimpse over the country's history from the ancient times to the present. Sergew Hable Selassie, *Ancient and Medieval Ethiopian History to 1970*, Addis Ababa, 1972. Tadesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopian History, 1270-1527*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972. For 16th and 17th centuries history, see the records of the Portuguese travellers to be found with the Hakluyt Society, London. These include Manoel Almeida, 1593-1646, *Some Records of Ethiopia*, translated and edited by C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, 1954. Father Francisco Alvares, the Prester John of the Indies, *Narrative of Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520, Vol.I-II*, Translated by Lord Stanley of Aldery; C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, 1961. Mordechai Abir, *Ethiopia: The Era of the Princes (1769-1855)* London and Harlow: Longmanns, Green and Co. Ltd., 1968. Sven Rubenson, *The Survival of Ethiopian Independence*. London: Heinemann, 1976, Patrick Gilkes, *the Dying Lion, Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*, Julian Friedmann Publishers Ltd., 1975.
- 108 Roland Oliver and Gervase Mathew ed. *History of East Africa V. 1* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1976), p 100.
- 109 The commercial centers of the Italian Peninsula such as Venice, Genoa and Pisa were essential in the modernization process of Europe. See Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations V. 1*. (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1911) pp 358-359.
- 110 Oliver and Mathew, op.cit., p 102.
- 111 Ibid., p 99. See also Sergew Hable Selassie, op.cit., p 70.
- 112 Oliver and Mathew, op.cit., p 113.
- 113 Ibid., p 112.
- 114 Davidson, op.cit., p 37.
- 115 Oliver and Mathew, op.cit., p 121.
- 116 Ibid., p 117.

- 117 Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, V. 2, pp 56-57.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p 60.
- 119 *Ibid.*
- 120 *Ibid.*, pp 85-86.
- 121 Basil Davidson, *Black Mother, A Study of the Precolonial Connection Between Africa and Europe*, (London: Longman Group Limited, 1970), p 57.
- 122 Davidson, *Guide to African History*, op.cit., pp 59-60.
- 123 *Ibid.*, p 62.
- 124 For example Oba of Benin whose reign began in about AD 1504 sent an Ambassador to Lisbon. See *Ibid.*, p 62.
- 125 *Ibid.*, p 64.
- 126 *Ibid.*, p 65.
- 127 *Ibid.*, Voices like this one for fair cooperation were raised in various regions from early modern time. Some Ethiopian kings of 15th and 16th centuries, in their correspondence with Portugal indicated a desire for technical cooperation. The appeal of Agaja Trude of Dahomey for stopping slave trade and introducing crafts; that of Opaku Ware of Assante asking for setting up factories - both in the early 17th century are some examples. See Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* op.cit., pp 116-117.
- 128 Davidson, *Black Mother*, op.cit., p 88.
- 129 Davidson, *Guide to African History*, op.cit., p 69.
- 130 *Ibid.*, p 70. For further consideration of Africa's contribution to the capitalist development of Europe see Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, pp 84-102, 162-189.
- 131 Fage and Oliver, op.cit., p 2.
- 132 Davidson, *Guide to African History*, p 40.
- 133 *Ibid.*
- 134 Fage and Oliver, op.cit., pp 5-6. For deeper insight see Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, pp 103-124.
- 135 P. Curtin etc., op.cit., pp 458, 460-470.
- 136 Lewis A. Coser, *Masters of Sociological Thought* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 191), p 173.
- 137 *Ibid.* This unity, however, envisages individualism and plurality in terms of self-interest, see Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, (Boston, 1966) p 60.

- 138 The Republic of Plata, Trans. Davies & Vaughan; (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1918) p 132. See also Henry J. Schmandt, A History of Political Philosophy (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1960) pp 46-50.
- 139 Coser, op.cit., p 398.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Putnam, The Beliefs of Politicians, op.cit., p 214.
- 142 Ibid., p 197.
- 143 Marx and Engels, Selected Works, p 694.
- 144 G. Thomson, From Marx to Mao (London 1975), p 162. See also Lenin. Selected Works, Vol. 1, pp 109-110.
- 145 Gutkind and Waterman, op.cit., p 79.
- 146 Ibid., pp 96-102.
- 147 Cornforth, op.cit., p 87.
- 148 Ibid., p 90.
- 149 Claude Ake, Revolutionary Pressures in Africa (London, Zed Press, 1978), p 8.
- 150 Alpheus Manghezi, Class, Elite and Community in African Development (Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1976), pp 39-56.
- 151 Ibid., p 56.
- 152 Ibid., p 62.
- 153 Such an assumption is central to influential bourgeois social theorists such as Comte, Durkheim, Weber, Parsons, Rustow and Pye.
- 154 Manghezi, op.cit., p 23.
- 155 It is essential to note that the concepts 'reformist' and 'revolutionary' can be relative to particular situations. For example, under a colonial situation any individual or group that engages in agitation for independence is rising against imperialism and engaged in a revolutionary process. This can be said inspite of the outlook as regards internal structures and the type of society he is intending to replace. On the other hand, reform also can be a part of a revolution. For example, when a revolutionary group takes power and assures its political position, it can take reform measures which materialize the objectives of the revolution. That is, within the framework of the revolutionary strategy, various tasks can be accomplished in a planned manner over a period of time according to priorities. These comments taken into consideration, the sense the concepts are used in here is much deeper and wider. It encompasses the general outlook of the thinkers towards internal socio-economic structures as well as relation with the outside world.
- 156 Brutents, op.cit., p 124.

3.1 Introduction

In areas with the experience of colonial domination the themes of freedom and independence are most prominent. Equally important is the concern for the type of a system one is striving to mould in the process of the future development. These aspirations are often presented in concepts which are said to embody the guiding principles, philosophies or rallying words that are supposed to be the motivational instrument for the coming system.

While detail studies of selected individual thinkers are presented in the main sections of this and the following chapters, brief introductions are also given which feature groups of thinkers from each category around two issue areas, namely, the extent of independence from the centers of colonial domination and the nature and novelty of the future society envisaged.

Before discussing the moderate reformists or conservatives, and in order to locate them historically, it is appropriate to trace briefly the evolution of modern political movements in sub-Saharan Africa.

Ample examples have already been discussed concerning the struggle in the pre-colonial era by various peoples under their respective political institutions in the different regions of sub-Saharan Africa. Such struggles were carried out to retain the freedom and the existing culture from outside encroachments. With the exception of Ethiopia, these struggles were unsuccessful, and such existing political and economic rights were crushed. The leaders of the people were reduced to subservience to colonial administrators, who moulded puppets and agents out of them, good only for controlling and taxing the populous. Britain, France, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Spain and Germany until WWI, were the cardinal beneficiaries of the pillage.

The most relevant period for this present study begins with 1945, the end of the Second World War. However, in order to understand the political developments which led to the wave of independence movements in the 50's and 60's, it is essential to review some of the highlights of the movements which later gained political content, beginning from the dawn of this century both within Africa itself and on the international scene.

Considering the number of political movements, the content of their expression of nationalism, and the extent and quality of independence expressed by them one can broadly observe two distinct stages in the evolution of modern African political thinking.

The first stage, which ranges from the turn of this century up to the end of the Second World War, appears to be undramatic, characterized mainly by isolated voices of appeal to the colonial powers to protect the rights of the natives from abuses being inflicted by colonial administrators and business interests.

With few exceptions, this period did not produce real political organizations that could articulate the interests of the colonized peoples and lead them towards independence. Those isolated political parties which did exist, with few exceptions, were rather "para-party structures"¹ functioning in limited areas and were markedly sectarian with ethnic, religious, and even racial basis.

The objectives of such movements were limited to cultural or mutual-aid activities and their political demands did not go further than demanding the improvements of the natives' lot within the colonial framework.

Whatever limited administrative functions existed, were the prerogatives of a few 'civilized' individuals and chiefs.²

Outside impetus towards African nationalism came from the African diaspora in the Western hemisphere. The Pan-Africanist movement which raised its voice on a world level at the end of the First World War, is the main example of such organized outside effort for the protection of the interests of the African peoples. The movement which traces its origin to the beginning of this century and to individuals of African origin in the US and West Indies, was cautious in its demands.

The Pan-African Congress which met in France in 1919 demanded, among other things, a code of law for international protection of the natives of Africa; that land and its resources in Africa be held in trust for the natives; that excesses of the capitalists be checked by governments; that slavery and forced labour cease; that better educational opportunities be given to the natives and the natives be allowed to participate in local, tribal and gradually national government "as fast as their development permits."³

Stage Two starts with 1945, a watershed in the history of African Nationalism. It inaugurated the political renaissance of the region where the hitherto local, ethnic and professional factions began to create national movements embracing the hope of an independent and united society. The following decade and a half saw the growth of political parties which mushroomed all over the sub-Saharan colonial Africa. Hence, the parties provided ready forums for independence negotiations between the nationalist petty bourgeoisie and the

colonial powers which depending on their strength, also emerged as participants of the decolonization process.

The major factors favouring African independence are to be found in the dialectics of the Second World War itself which, upon the defeat of fascism, strengthened the influence of the democratic and proletarian parties in the West, saw the rise of the socialist world system and not least, the awakening of the colonial peoples themselves.

In this period the British and French were forced to make constitutional reforms in favour of the colonise. The UN Declaration of Human Rights which recognized the rights of all the colonized peoples to independence also stamped the already surging mood. It is in such an environment of international and national pressure, as well as colonial reformism, that we find the thinkers whose political thoughts we shall scrutinize.

We take here some examples of nationalists from the French and British colonies and see how they envisaged independence at this stage, and which ideas and philosophies they upheld for building a future society.

In Francophone sub-Sahara African politics, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the president of the Ivory Coast and Sedar Senghor of Senegal, have prominence and influence of long standing. Both participated in the 'invidious' French politics long before the dawn of independence of their countries.

Starting from 1945, Boigny evolved as a favorite of Paris, working among other things, as a member of the National Assembly, a regional councillor and as a cabinet member. Above all, he was the first chairman of the RDA⁴ (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain) a kind of federation of political groups and parties encompassing French West and Central-Africa and grouped within the French integrationist structure for demanding equal rights for the African population.

As the political movements gained momentum in 1950's, the colonial powers evolved a system of local governments in a form of a "dyarchy", where power was shared between the colonial administrators and the nationalists. It was in such controlled platforms of chicanery that struggle was waged for the future development of these countries; trusted individuals were groomed, radicals were either tamed or eliminated and colonial values with their institutions were pegged deeper.

It was at this turning point that Boigny's outlook was shaped and where he, detaching the earlier contacts the RDA had with the French Communist Party,

made an appeal for 'unity and calm' and settlement "for the building of a rich Ivory Coast, within the French Union."⁵

This was further evidenced during the 1958 French referendum, where the African population was asked whether they endorsed the idea of Franco-African Community. Boigny, as one of the architects of the idea, called "for the autonomy of each territory, entering into direct relationship with France."⁶ Hence, with the exception of Guinea, all the sub-Saharan French colonies opted for the Franco-African Community.

Boigny, the advocate of 'dialogue' rather than 'violence', even where it involved the apartheid regime of South Africa, stood for 'interdependence and liberalism' in economic policy. What is called 'Houghouetism' includes such ideas as: "unity and cohesion, social justice, tolerance and fraternity, stability, dialogue and peace and the construction of happiness for Ivoirians."⁷ As to how this should be materialized much was not said.

Sédar Senghor of Senegal, too, is a child of the same experience. Both he and Boigny being products of the French assimilationist colonial practice, could not see a future for their countries without strong affiliation to France.

In 1950's, when the idea of African independence became inevitable, Senghor emerged as a passionate spokesman of French interests and a supporter of the Franco-African Community.

Castigating the advocates of radical nationalism, he retorted: "The dynamic evolution of the Community in the sense of history is to our advantage. It is also in the interest of France. On the economic level, France can get along without Africa, but she cannot get along without it on the political or cultural plane. France is not Holland. She is a great lady who needs to spread her radiance over a large family. Reduced to her European dimensions, she would fail in her mission to the world, which is to defend Man. She would lose her soul and *raison d'être*."⁸

Expressing his view on independence, Senghor allegorically reasoned thusly, "When sons come of age they find a home and loosen, but do not break family ties. To a considerable extent, we are the spiritual sons of France."⁹

Senghor stressed the importance of cultural independence, as his favourite theme, 'Negritude', reveals. In terms of values, he advocated the classical French ideals "liberty, equality and fraternity."¹⁰

The essence of his alternative society is based on romanticizing and mystify-

ing African communal-oriented traditions, out of which he synthesized 'African' socialism. Doing so, he denied the existence of classes, preferring "social groups", and he strongly warned against scientific socialism.

For the areas under the British colonial domination, a brief look into Jomo Kenyatta's speeches on the eve of the 1963 independence provides a good example of reformist thinking.

Kenyatta was imprisoned in 1950's for his nationalistic activities. When independence was at hand, he made a reconciliatory plea to his colonial adversaries when he said, "I myself suffered for long, but I promise you I am not bitter."¹¹ With this he called upon the nation not to "harbour ill-feeling", disclosing his decision that "Kenya should apply for membership of the Commonwealth."¹²

Specifying in clearer terms the nature of relations with the colonial country, he said: "With Britain, which has watched over our destinies for so long, we now enter a new relationship. The close ties which have bound our two countries are not severed today. Rather, they will continue now in strength."¹³ To the European settlers, the Asiatic businessmen and the local property owners, he told to have "no fears of expropriation" as the "right of all, and of their property, will be fully protected."¹⁴

"We believe", Kenyatta said, "that only in a free and liberal society can each individual develop fully to serve his fellow citizen."¹⁵

The motto of harambee - let us work hard together, invoked the tradition of village life, and was presented to the populous as a rallying concept. The government, thus, was said to be "committed to a path of democratic African Socialism."¹⁶

Evaluating the newly independent state and the novelty of its institutions, Murraby-Brown commented that, while "institutions like the police and army were taken over intact, the judiciary, civil service and Parliament continued to function according to their British models and with white men still in senior posts."¹⁷

Indicating the continued privileges of the settler, he further observed that "life in the Rift Valley Sports Club and other bastions of the old White Highlands went on much as before, though without the racist talk and without the colour bar."¹⁸

Kenyatta's alternative system like that of his colleagues was a confusing mixture: liberalism with imperialism and internal economic interest; 'African

socialism' for the masses. A formula which did not effect fundamental change.

One of the contenders in the 1979 Nigerian presidential elections, enunciating his 'national philosophy', suggested inculcation of patriotism, consideration for others, and revamping the old system of an extended family, a combination of which would give an amalgam of "capitalism, socialism, and welfareism."¹⁹

Whether one takes 'harambee', 'humanism', 'authenticity', 'negritude', 'African socialism', the fact is that pre-independence structures and neo-colonial relations were not challenged in such policies.

For a deeper analysis of the thinkers in this category, Ndabaninghi Sithole is selected mainly because of his ample writings. These began with African Nationalism, first published in 1958, a book which was widely read in African intellectual and political circles in 1960's. His later writings from prison in 1960's and those published in relation to the 1970's negotiations and guerilla war for Zimbabwe's independence, present the possibility of examining his thinking in a longer time perspective. His works in a way also provide a link between the pre- and post- 1945 political development in Africa. This analysis will be the focus of the next chapter.

NOTES to CHAPTER 3

Introduction

- 1 Onésimo Silveira, *Africa South of the Sahara: Party Systems and Ideologies of Socialism*. (Stockholm: Raben & Sjögren, 1976), p 22.
- 2 On the role of the chiefs, see I. Wallerstein, *The Road to Independence, Ghana and Ivory Coast*. (Paris: Mouton & Co., 1964), p 23.
- 3 See the resolution of 1919 Pan-African Congress which met in Paris, documented in *Africa, Year Book and Who's Who in 1977* (London: African Journal Limited, 1977), p 172. Various Pan-African Congresses were held after Paris, the last held in March 1945 was the most radical, where African nationalists such as K. Nkrumah made a lasting impact. See its Resolution in *ibid.*, pp 172-173.
- 4 Silveira, *op.cit.*, pp 180-181.
- 5 See Wallerstein, *op.cit.*, p 49.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p 56.
- 7 See *Africa Year Book*, *op.cit.*, pp 478-479.
- 8 Gideon-Cyrus M. Mutiso and S.W. Rohio. *Readings in African Political Thought* (London: Heinemann, 1975), p 588.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p 590.
- 10 *Ibid.*, p 584.
- 11 Jomo Kenyatta, *Suffering Without Bitterness: The Founding of the Kenya Nation* (Nairobi, 1968), p 201.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 *Ibid.*, p 213.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p 205.
- 15 *Ibid.*, p 200.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p 205.
- 17 Jeremy Murray- Brown, *Kenyatta* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1972), p 312.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p 313.
- 19 See "Nigeria. Special Report", *Africa ... Magazine*, no. 92 (London, April 1979) pp 14-15.

- 3.2 The Political Thought of N. Sithole
- 3.2.1 Perception and Description of Problems
- 3.2.1.1 The Current Society
- 3.2.1.1.1 Political Situation

The political problem central to Sithole's writing is the lack of African political participation in Southern Rhodesia due to European domination, a process based on the "philosophy of white supremacy." The immediate local situation that awakened his political interest derives from the privileged status of the white settlers who controlled the socio-economic and political life of Southern Rhodesia to the detriment of the majority black population.

This privilege, Sithole contended, was perpetuated by limiting the possibility of African people in the process of political participation through economic means. Thus he argues, "The genius of Rhodesia's 'qualified franchise' is that it gives the vote to virtually all adult Europeans, but denies the same vote to most African adults. In other words, because the Europeans earn higher wages and salaries, they are able to qualify as voters, but because Africans earn low wages they are unable to qualify in large number as voters."¹ He terms this system "Majority - disqualifying."

After the frustrating attempts to organize the African population in Southern Rhodesia for political activities in the early 1960's, Sithole concluded that "the white man was determined to destroy the African nationalist movement. The white man was simply determined to see white supremacy in the saddle for all time."²

He dismissed the then legislative bodies of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and that of the Southern Rhodesia section as unrepresentative. Speaking of the latter he says, "The South Rhodesia Constitution of 1961 provides for a Legislative Assembly of sixty-five members, fifty of whom are Europeans and fifteen Africans."³ This arrangement was made in a population of 4 million Africans, two hundred thousand Europeans and twenty thousand Asians.

Such politics of domination are termed by Sithole as "white supremacy", and sometimes as "eurocracy." He observes the same formula in practice in the other British ruled African countries. He attacked the so-called 'parity formula' and its function in pre-independence Tanganyika, where "Ten Europeans represented about 20,000 whites, ten Africans about 7.000.000 Africans, and ten Asians about 75,000 Asians."⁴ Such a system was called 'equal racial representation'.

In Kenya also he saw a similar practice being perpetrated under the disguise of "multi-racial" government.

He also attacked the South African apartheid politics as "an instrument to concentrate power in Africaner or European hands."⁵ He describes the practice as "the most objectionable expression of white supremacy."⁶

To underline his objection to European domination, Sithole endorses an argument, which he says originates from his Nigerian friend, saying, "There are two dangers to the peace of the world - Communism and white supremacy. Both are based on the same thing - domination of others."⁷

Thus for him, African nationalism is a response to the white man, which "arose out of his unwillingness to share citizenship with people outside his racial group."⁸ Nevertheless, Sithole is appreciative of British colonialism which, unlike that of the Belgian and Portuguese, allowed some local participation, or which, unlike the French did not tie participation to the metropolis.

3.2.1.1.2 Economic Situation

As Sithole describes it, economically, also, the fate of the African is one of domination and subservience under white rule. "Since white supremacy was the watchdog of white economic interests," writes Sithole, "European rulers made laws that were weighted against the African peoples. The African, legally, had to be made to hold the thin end of the economic wedge, and the white man the fat end."⁹

Such imbalance perpetrated through the colonial policy of "gradual progress", as Sithole further contends, "meant that the African had to be placed on a basis of deliberately depressed economy to ensure his indefinite subservience to the white man, and to ensure white domination of him."¹⁰

Such policy concentrated the best of land, jobs and other means of production in the hands of the whites. Dry areas known as "Native Reserves", were created to hurdle the black peasantry, which later on turned into a reservoir for cheap labour. Sithole characterizes the situation as the "feudal system" of the Middle Ages.

Taking South African, Sithole regards "landlessness" as key to the agony of the people. The system saw to it that the African population was concentrated in barren land thus creating an artificial population explosion, in which case the working section of the population fled to urban areas and provided the very much needed cheap labour.¹¹

Laws were deliberately enacted to ensure the continuity of such cheap labour. Speaking of this mechanism, Sithole writes, "If a European farmer or industrialist ran short of labour, he just applied a little pressure on the European Member of Parliament who represented his constituency, and in turn the M.P. pressed the button in the white legislative assembly and out came cheap native labour in abundance through the other end."¹²

The laws did more than provide cheap labour. They safeguarded the interests of the dominant group in many other ways. As Sithole writes, they "took every care to see that every white man was insulated against African competition. A dual system of jobs and salaries and wages was ingeniously contrived."¹³

3.2.1.1.3 Socio-Cultural Situation

Sithole realized the obviously depressed social situation of the African due to the prevalent politico-economic conditions. The poor educational and health services did not promise any uplifting of the relegated masses. A colour bar strictly divided people in such a way that the dominated could not move out of their poverty and improve their situation. He opposed social distinction on the basis of colour.

However, Sithole was ambivalent on the question of culture. On one hand, he had a deep faith in 'Westernization' and, on the other, he tended to oppose it. In particular when he discusses the French, Portuguese and Belgian cultural imposition and paternalism, his opposition tends to surface, forcing him to state: "The African was dispossessed not only of his land but of his culture, his personality and integrity."¹⁴

On the other hand, assimilating European customs and languages is seen as a natural trend. Explaining how fanatically so many Africans want to master a European language, he argued, "There was nothing new in this. During the Hellenistic period those who could not speak the Greek language were deprecatingly called barbarious, not cultured. With the ascendancy of Rome, Latin became the learned man's language, and later, French became every cultured man's language. The conquered tend to copy the language and customs of the conqueror."¹⁵

As we will later see, the role of missionaries in the development of Africa is seen as decisive by Sithole. Regarding languages, also, he gives credit to the churches, saying "the church schools in Portuguese, British, and French Africa brought European languages to the African people."¹⁶

Sithole believes in 'Westernization', but dislikes such fanatic acculturation where "Anything that had anything to do with the white man had something bordering on magic."¹⁷

3.2.1.2 Tradition or historical past

Sithole sees the traditional society with its practices of long standing as a substructure on which colonialism, as an outside superimposition, flourished. Being convinced of this, he challenges the view that pre-colonial Africa lacked organized and stable societies. Even if he repeatedly contradicts himself on the issue, Sithole makes an attempt to show that Africa had organized societies.

He argues, "Although African society was simple and primitive, it had amazing organization and stability. The genius of European rule in Africa lay in the indirect rule which was based on the recognition of the social organization and stability of various African tribes. Indirect rule did not create a new order, but rather manipulated, exploited, and utilized to the full extent the pattern of life it found among the natives themselves."¹⁸

Sithole cannot rid himself of the concepts "tribal" and "primitive", which are commonly used by the same literature he opposes. These, and similar views he holds about the past socio-economic formation of Africa, go against the historical truth. Pre-colonial Africa had "empires" and kingdoms and not only "primitive tribes."

He resents also the myth that surrounds the European in a way that casts a shadow over the indigenous African tradition and its heroes. All glory is given to whites and "Black heroes were pushed into the background so that for sometime every hero was white, and every white man was a hero."¹⁹

However, he believes that the myth that held that all knowledge and might belonged to Europe was cracking. Towards this end, WWII, where the African fought side by side with the European, job opportunities afforded by educated Africans, and sexual interaction, are seen as some of the factors contributing to the shattering of this myth.

Sithole strongly believes in the "westernized" modern African; he complains that the pre-colonial African was too weak in his resistance against the European. On the other hand he praises Western education sponsored by the missionaries for its role in the process of creating a new Africa. The "new brand of African" as opposed to his forebears is self-respecting, emancipated, regards the white man as equal.²⁰

In the past Africans were narrow and "vaguely conscious of the country in which they lived," he writes. They were not conscious of the rest of Africa - certainly not of the countries outside Africa. They spent most of their time looking after their livestock, hunting and trapping game.²¹

Again Sithole's observation betrays his attempt to refute others. His generalization about the past history of Africa contravenes historical fact. Long before the coming of Europe, Africans established trade links with Asia. The era of the Greeks and Romans as well as the Medieval period saw contacts with some regions of Africa, mainly the North, the East and West.²² As we will see later, it is debatable whether "modern African" is more self-reliant than his forebears.

Sithole asserts that the concept "freedom" is not a creation of the European era in Africa. He finds it well entrenched in the languages and practical life of the African societies of the past.

If there is any aspect of African traditional life that has appealed to such a wide range of thinkers, it is the cooperative and communal life of the kinship system. Although African elites can do much in political sphere with less popular participation, they have sensed that their sustained future must be based on the communally oriented agrarian population. In order to capture such a tradition of cooperation they have adopted the term "African socialism." No politician, reformist or revolutionary, has missed this claim, all must incorporate if not integrate the rural masses in any mobilization program.

Sithole is no exception in this regard, and he is far from being original. However suspicious he is of the group orientation of the tradition as stifling private initiative and individuality, Sithole finds African Socialism, which for him recognizes traditional kinship practices, as a useful course regarding future economic policies.²³

3.2.1.3 The International Link

Sithole's description of European colonialism in Africa is made in the broad categories of "white" and "African". His attitude toward imperialism is as ambivalent as his attitude toward tradition. It is one of both disapproval and appreciation, the latter tending to be more weighty.

Colonialism is basically seen as a process guided by self-interest. As Sithole understands it "the white man had come to Africa first and foremost for his own good. He ruled her for his own good. His double-mindedness in

his dealings with the peoples of Africa was a calculated move to keep himself in the positions of effective power."²⁴

Sithole seems to be continuously intrigued by the double standard of the European towards life. On one hand he speaks of democracy and freedom, and on the other he subjugates others. In any case, for Sithole white rule in Africa was less than democratic, rather "much closer to dictatorship since European powers owed their existence in Africa to military force and not to the will of the majority."²⁵

In flowing language Sithole attempts to explain how the European overwhelmed the African through modern technology thus creating a myth about the super-human in the minds of the ruled. However, as time went by, even the common man discovered that the "corn eating god" was just a human being. In particular, WWII served as an eye opener in that it revealed to the African that the so-called civilized, peaceful and orderly whites mercilessly butchering one another just as his own so-called savage ancestors had done in tribal wars. ²⁶

Sithole, on the other hand, devotes ample space to explaining the positive contributions of colonialism. In particular, he is very appreciative of British colonialism which he sees as a forward-looking exercise promising "self-government" to the dominated. His example for his assertion is that of America. "In North America its policy of close control over the colonies changed to one of granting independence. British policy on British Africa was one of training Africans for eventual self-government within the Commonwealth of Nations."²⁷

Therefore, in comparison with others, Sithole considers British behaviour as "the best of all European policies in Africa."²⁸

Paying tribute to colonialism in general, he takes his departure in a document emanating from the conference of 1884 in Berlin, where the "Scramble for Africa" was formalized. The Berlin Act of 1884 stipulates, he writes, "freedom of trade for all nations, suppression of the slave trade, the civilizing of the natives of Africa as well as their evangelization, protection of religious, scientific, and charitable institutions, and the preservation of law, order and peace."²⁹

Suppression of slavery and the slave trade was one of the blessings of the advent of European power in Africa, Sithole observes. This act is also seen as "one of the practical expressions of the European humanitarianism."³⁰

Europeans, "by dealing slavery a deathblow, set the whole continent of Africa on a new venture of freedom and human dignity."³⁰ How about the ensuing colonialism? Is this freedom? Who perpetrated the slave trade in the first place?

Another advantage he sees in colonialism is the "independence" of the weaker tribes. He writes, "The European conquest of many parts of Africa brought a considerable measure of independence and protection to many African tribes ..."³¹ He goes on to stress this view saying, "It gave real protection to these weaker tribes ..."³²

He also gives credit to colonialism for ending the "terrible tribal war",³³ which meant peace "to the general good of the people of Africa."³⁴ The Europeans, according to Sithole, were seen as "peace-makers", bearers of "deeds of humanity", and "bringers of enlightenment."³⁵

Sithole, describing the motives behind Europeans coming to Africa, says, "They had come strictly for business."³⁶ This, however, resulted in the benefit of Africa, as cities grew and mines opened up employing millions. The benefit of this for Africa being "new vigorous industrial pattern ... social and industrial consciousness ... new skills, new insights, new dreams and visions."³⁷

In general, he sees European imperialism as a paradox where the dominated, particularly in the wake of nationalism, end up as gainers. If the claims of the Berlin Conference about 'civilizing' the natives was genuine, then it has achieved its purpose, "Since it became the desire of the African people to reach the same level as the European powers who set to civilize them."³⁸

Sithole who believes that volumes could be written about the advantages of colonialism, puts the matter in general terms, saying "There is, without doubt, a general wave of Westernization sweeping throughout the continent of Africa, and this has had, in general, beneficial effect on the people."³⁹

3.2.2 Values and Goals

3.2.2.1 Rejected and Desired values

Sithole strongly attacks the limiting of democracy to whites only on the basis of false racial premises. Such limitation, as he sees it, exists because the European "feared the march of democracy in Africa."⁴⁰ "The European in Africa," he goes on to argue, "though he claimed to be a champion of democracy, was democracy's worst enemy since he was determined to see

that democracy was not extended to the millions of Africans who were actually demanding it."⁴¹

In this connection, he accuses the Europeans for having an ideological double standard in which two opposing systems are used to govern the same society—democracy for the whites and dictatorship for the Africans.⁴² In the process of what he calls "split mind", Sithole shows how a basically liberal system interlocks with conservative practices.

Sithole is suspicious of the concept of "law and order" in a situation where a "minority" imposes its will over the majority. Although he would say with Burke "Good order is the foundation of all good things,"⁴³ he endorses this only in utilitarian terms, meaning when it "promotes the highest good for the highest number."⁴⁴

Sithole is also critical of the group-oriented African tradition in which "Individual initiative had been crippled."⁴⁵

On the reverse side, what Sithole desires for Africa is not difficult to see. This is presented in the phrases of 19th century Utilitarian thinkers as "maximum benefit for the maximum number ", as noted above. He advises all his concerned fellow-Africans to dwell on this central matter as, in his words, "Anything that tends to deny the highest good to the highest number cannot solve the real problem facing free independent Africa."⁴⁶

Without taking the pains of his theoretical forbears to quantify the goodness of action, Sithole proposes "democracy" as the suitable system that embodies the desired formula for the highest good to the highest number.

He understands democracy as the "will of the majority." For him democracy, as it is practiced in "Britain, Western Europe, and the USA accords roughly with the classical definition, but democracy as practised by European powers in Africa agreed with the standard definition of dictatorship."⁴⁷

The essence of such a majoritarian system is to protect the rights of all people, whom Sithole sees as "the center of things." However, as he is suspicious of any communal orientation, he treats man's needs from individualistic standpoint. Terms such as "individuality", "personality," "own thinking", and "free expression of that thinking" occur often in his writings, reflecting his commitment to the bourgeois liberal tradition. He notes, "self-expression of individuality and personality is basic to man's happiness."⁴⁸

As liberal thinkers in general he advocates "fundamental human rights" which

include "Equality of human beings in dignity and rights, freedom from discrimination on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion, and political creeds, and freedom of speech, expression, enterprise, and the press."⁴⁹

In economics, also, individual free enterprise and competition are advocated. In particular, competition is seen as one of the colonial blessings to have been introduced into Africa. He says, "Men begin to judge themselves by the higher standards of others. If they find themselves wanting, they determine to improve themselves. The whole Westernization of African people is a good illustration of this point. Colonialism engendered a vigorous spirit of progressive competition in all walks of life...."⁵⁰

3.2.2.2 Goals or Envisaged Future Society

3.2.2.2.1 Political Goals

Sithole's proposals about the nature and role of politics are strongly influenced by his immediate surrounding, that is the minority rule of Southern Africa. He considers political participation as the key to solving all the problems confronting the African people. "Maximum benefit for maximum number" is to be secured by political participation or "political freedom."

Taking over political power is the main goal of nationalism. He writes, "African nationalism may be defined as a political feeling seeking relentlessly to eliminate eurocracy by supplanting it with afrocracy."⁵¹ In this definition Sithole speaks in strong terms about the elimination of European rule. But in most cases his language is milder and stresses "participation", as the following shows: "Africans desire to participate fully in the central government of the country, his desire for economic justice that recognizes fully the principle of 'equal pay for equal work' regardless of the skin colour ... full political rights ..., dislike of being treated as a stranger in the land of his birth ..., of his being treated as a means for the white man's end - of laws that prescribe for him a permanent position of inferiority as a human being."⁵²

Economic benefits and prosperity automatically follow "afrocracy". This optimistic view was broadly expressed when Sithole spoke of the newly independent African countries. In these countries, he argues, the natural and human resources are being used "for the sole benefit of the natives themselves instead of foreigners."⁵³ In their policies "These countries ceased to play to the tunes of foreigners."⁵⁴ In general he saw them as masters of their political and economic destinies.

Sithole also tried to discuss an ideal system that would yield the "maximum happiness." Basically he accepts any type of system which is based on local definition of "maximum happiness." However, his choice is expressed by the following: "We have no alternative but to settle on the principle of democracy."⁵⁵ This is the system that would guarantee "maximum good for the maximum number." To satisfy this requirement it shall be:

- a) "people centered," but not "ruler centered,"
- b) "fair, but firm and flexible." Here tolerance is seen as the hallmark for a surviving system,
- c) institutionalized but not personalized.

People's participation, elections, free discussion and criticism shall be guaranteed in the system, but he does not discuss how this can be functional in African conditions.

Sithole's choice of a system as well as his principles are not new. He learned his lessons from the bourgeois tradition mainly of the 19th century utilitarian thinkers. Of utilitarianism it has been said its "proponents were distinctly middle class in character and its program essentially a defence of middle class interest."⁵⁶

Sithole was also attracted by the concept "common good." As this is understood in the utilitarian tradition, it is not the same as "communalism." Rather, community is seen as the sum total of individuals and it is the individual who pursues his own interests in seeking to increase his happiness. This view holds that the state is a "fictitious" body, or an association of individuals organized for the promotion of happiness. Self-interest is the guiding force. The happy community must be based on individuals of unbridled interest, each freely competing to find his fulfillment. As a reader of the liberal tradition, Sithole is trying to sketch a government in line with "liberal democracy." Yet he believed this would allow Africa to establish its own system, thus affording it a neutral ground between 'communism and capitalism'. As he sees it, such an African brand evolves "with patience, calculated economic planning and foresight."⁵⁷ Such a system is to accord the continent a commendable role internationally as Africa, "while meeting her own basic needs, would also diminish the tension between capitalism and communism."⁵⁸

3.2.2.2.2 Economic Goals

As in politics, in his future economic proposal, also, the concept of "people-centeredness" guides Sithole. Basically, he sees economics as separate from politics. He states that the European in this country 'desparately' needs his economic freedom while the African needs his political freedom. However, in campaigning for the political participation of the majority, he must adopt a corresponding position in the economic field. Such a position enables him to demand equal pay, equal employment opportunities and the equal possibility to compete.

Moreover, his majoritarian attitude forces Sithole to adopt a brand of "African socialism." This goes counter, however, to his distasteful disposition towards the African tradition of group orientation and his praise of "competition." Nevertheless, he settles for a system which he describes as: "A socialism that is based on the willing cooperation of the people accords to our fundamental principle of people-centeredness."⁵⁹

The socialism Sithole speaks about does not affect politics, it is rather an "economic system." He is not an original thinker in this area, his chief sources are fellow African thinkers such as Nkrumah, Touré, Nyerere, whose radical views he stands lacking, and Mboya.

Basing himself on these and similar writers, Sithole sees in the so-called African Socialism:

- a) a strong emphasis on people as people,
- b) a strong feeling against capitalism,
- c) an equally strong feeling against "doctrinaire socialism" or "absolute socialism"
- d) a readiness to maximize social benefits for the maximum number.⁶⁰

Such socialism, as he envisages it, is to be built through rejecting laissez-faire capitalism, in favour of some sort of government economic intervention, as well as rejecting Marxian socialism. "The newly independent African countries", he writes, "cannot afford the luxury of laissez-faire economies"⁶¹

Speaking of the undesirability of scientific socialism, Sithole argues: "Doctrinaire socialism would inevitably cause a showdown between the people and their rulers, and Africa cannot afford running this risk There is therefore much practical wisdom in Africa's repudiation of doctrinaire socialism."⁶²

Despite his attempt to describe some characteristics of the would-be socialist system, Sithole does not take time to explain how such a system can be built. He rejects laissez-faire capitalism, and it seems that he lacks the understanding or avoids the discussion of monopoly capitalism and its role in the colonies. As was mentioned above, his suspicion toward collectivity or group orientation, and his admiration for private competition - although he advocates some sort of government interference - clearly puts Sithole in line with a tradition of capitalist economic thought.

3.2.2.2.3 The Cultural Goals

Sithole does not dwell much on the nature of the future culture to be created. However, his views on the subject can be discerned from his observation on the Portuguese, Belgian and French acculturation processes.

He rejects the Portuguese "assimilado" process, as well as that of the "evolues" of Belgians whereby an African is supposed to undergo a cultural metamorphosis in order to attain the status of a citizen. He comments, "But the African wants to be himself. He does not like to lose his identity. He wants to be a full citizen of his own country without becoming a poor imitator of the Portuguese; he has no real desire to repudiate his Africanness."⁶³

Under the colonial system, Sithole finds the African dispossessed not only of his material resources but of his "culture", personality and integrity. The restoration of these aspects of life are seen to be the responsibility of the future society.

However, Sithole does not elaborately discuss any process to cultivate the new personality, to restore and develop African culture and integrity.

3.2.3 Means

3.2.3.1 Orientation

The discussion of various means to attain the desired political, as well as economic and cultural goals, clearly enunciates Sithole's deep religious influence. He discusses various means that are utilized by nationalists to attain independence or to defeat "eurocracy" in order to crown "afrocracy." He does not see society divided on class lines, but on colour lines where the white dominates and the black submits. Much of the discussion on means dwells on the peaceful, non-violent, or legal alternative. The role of armed action receives only peripheral treatment.

This tendency, according to him, is a logical outcome of the historical

military incapability of the Africans to defeat the colonialist as well as the effectivity of the Christian teaching which has shaped the content of various non-violent movements.

Speaking of the 'failure' of armed action in the past, he argues, "In the end the African lost faith in his spear ever bringing his freedom, which he had lost to europeans whose guns have proved too strong for him."

He finds all the nationalist movements of colonial era tamed by the reality of defeat, and a distrust of effectivity of arms struggle. However, he mentions some examples of violent actions that resulted from frustrated peacerul efforts. One of his classical examples is the nationalist uppraisal in Kenya, described in the following words: "However disagreeable the memory of Mau Mau terrorism, an objective student cannot help being impressed by the fact that the whole movement was one of desperation.... The Mau Mau members resorted to desperate measures because they wanted to have a say in the affairs of their country. The Mau Mau movement shook the British out of their political complacency and this, though at a terrible cost of human life, was to the good."⁶⁴

Biblical teachings and missionary work are considered to be the main sources of influence in African nationalism. To this effect Sithole writes: "If it is true that the teaching of the Holy Bible greatly helped in the shaping of European thoughts, the same thing could be said of Africa."⁶⁵ This is further elaborated by what Sithole presents as a quotation from a conversation by two South Africans: "But lo! the Missionary came in time and laid explosive under colonialism. The Bible is now doing what we could not do with our spears."⁶⁶ He sees Christian faith as the "spiritual father, and guardian angel" of African nationalism.

Sithole, who considers "tolerance" to be the "hallmark of a flexible system",⁶⁷ believes that a peaceful approach pays better returns than the violent one. He mentions the examples of Ghandi's teachings on non-violence, which he understands as being influenced by Christ's Sermon on the Mount, the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King and the non-violent movement of Albert Luthuli of South Africa. As we will see later, he tends to believe strongly that such movements, equipped with the spirit of non-violence and utilizing legal forums such as the UN, can obtain the desired results without too much pain.

3.2.3.2 Implementation

3.2.3.2.1 Theoretical Assessment

Sithole is a political activist whose theoretical orientation seems to derive from casual readings. Partly owing to this fact, he presents certain events and phenomena as isolated occurrences, which renders his thought patternless. He often sees politics as divorced from economics, for example.

He tends to base his conclusions on isolated statements about individual actors in history and does not put these in their historical and systemic context. This follows his approach which can be seen embodied in the following statement: "Our line of inquiring will describe and explain the impressions made on the African mind by political pronouncements made by leading Europeans."⁶⁸

Sithole's understanding of ideological struggle too is naive and mechanistic. This allows him to state that Stalin was as imperialist as Churchill. What has been achieved through long and expensive struggle, he sees as adoption. For example, speaking of the Chinese revolution, a venture that has taken a struggle of a quarter of a century, he says, "They had to adopt communism to survive and people cooperated because it promised them a solution to their problem. They gave up a great deal of their private property because the situation demanded it."⁶⁹

Such a situation in China may have come about because of population density and, as Africa is one of the sparsely populated regions, people, Sithole writes, "may find it quite unnecessary to cooperate in regimental measure."⁷⁰

In general terms, Sithole's line of argument can be summed up as follows: in the past the Europeans, who are discernable by their white colour, conquered Africa and dominated black people or introduced "eurocracy"; as seen from some statements by individuals they want to continue their political domination and to prohibit black participation. In the face of this arises African nationalism or the afrocratic movement which seeks its goals through non-violent actions and negotiations, which are bound to produce the desired result of political independence.

3.2.3.2.2 Organization

In his writings, Sithole does not deal with the issue of organizational machinery, per se, in the process of achieving the set politico-economic and cultural goals. However, it is possible to construct from his discussion two levels where goal achievement is envisaged, namely, immediate and long-

range. The first deals with the urgent question of majority rule or "afrocracy", and the latter with the problem of the continuation and development of the new system. In both cases, elites organized into a negotiating forum or in a party, play an important role. The following discussion examines these two levels and the means utilized.

It is worthwhile to have in mind Sithole's view on colonialism in order to understand the means he discusses to achieve "afrocracy" or majority rule and independence. As was mentioned earlier, Sithole basically sees colonialism as a self-contradicting venture, whereby the positive contributions made through the practice of civilizing, unifying and politically awakening the subject peoples puts the old system on a death course. He spares no effort to acknowledge the educational, medical and religious contributions of churches and missions during the colonial era, although he accuses a few missionaries of going the way of the colonizer. He is thus very appreciative of the achievements in a way of 'Westernization' during the colonial era.

However, he has the basic contention that the African population was prohibited from full participation in political life, which meant an obstacle to majority rule. Therefore, the struggle was to achieve a "one man one vote" formula and for this, legal means appeared to secure more "dividends."

His peaceful means include what he terms 'constitutional, parliamentary, extra-parliamentary' methods and appeals to public and international conscience.⁷¹ The process is one of legal adjustment, negotiation, petition and appeal.

Such an approach naturally takes an individual, or a group of wellversed elite nationalists or other advocating agencies, who are aware of international forums and the legal and moral instruments that can be utilized in a negotiation process. The formation of a petty-bourgeois party often plays a useful role in providing the organizational basis for such an activity. For example, the Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU, with Sithole as its head, was formed in 1963 in order to pursue the goal of majority rule and independence.

Such legal activities and petitions are mainly directed at two agencies, namely the particular colonizing power and the UN. For example, when the white minority of Southern Rhodesia declared the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, UDI, the nationalists accused, Sithole writes, the new power holders of "high treason", and "asked the British Government to call a constitutional conference to include representatives of all interested parties

and to aim at majority rule based on 'one man - one vote'."⁷² They also asked the British Government "to exercise its legal and constitutional power and responsibility in Rhodesia."⁷³

Such a negotiation process was designed to emulate earlier British and French practices in the other colonies, whereby careful preparations through the limited parliamentary participation of scrupulously groomed individuals were made so as to "transfer" political power to the Africans. The new states were to remain within the bounds of influence of the colonizing powers. Sithole appreciates such gradual arrangements. He warns repeatedly that the failure of petitions and negotiations to effect power transfer would result in "desperate" outcomes, such as those the past revolutions left behind them.

On international level, the UN, whose charter recognizes the rights of all nations to self-determination and which provides a forum for handling colonial issues, with legal and moral provisions, is seen as a valuable instrument for decolonization. Sithole writes: "The Charter of the United Nations has become a charter of liberty under which the colonial peoples aspire for freedom. The organization itself, particularly the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, has provided the forums in which appeals for freedom can be made."⁷⁴ He also sees the "inestimable international moral authority" the organization wields, which can be unleashed for decolonization purpose. However, Sithole recognizes the lack in the organization of "the necessary teeth to bite, meaning the force for reinforcing what law and morality command.

Appeal to public conscience "by writing well-reasoned arguments" in order to gain sympathy in Europe, is another way mentioned. However, Sithole pronounces some disenchantment with the European liberals who, like those he calls "progressive conservatives", could not see Africa minus white supremacy.

Conducting mass rallies is mentioned as one of the important "extra-parliamentary" instruments against colonization. Here people are taught to chant slogans demanding 'freedom', these also provide an occasion for the elite to meet the general public, where, Sithole says, "The Nationalist orators, at the height of their oration, jeered, ridiculed, sneered, castigated, minimized and discredited European rule...."⁷⁵

In order to get a clue to Sithole's strategic and tactical preparations for actual confrontation, it is valuable to look in brief at his party's Central Committee circular at the eve of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence,

UDI, which was declared by the white minority leader, Ian Smith, in 1965.⁷⁶

The circular instructed the African people as follows:

- that workers in town, mines, etc., and reserve dwellers, withdraw their money from financial institutions and buy large stocks of food for storage;
- that those in reserves, stop selling their domestic animals and store their farm products;
- that every "family should study the surroundings of his home and locality for strategy;"
- that everyone should prepare to act on the instructions of the President;
- that when the Government declares UDI, fee and tax payment shall cease;
- that town dwellers must stop payment of rents from that day on;
- that "every man must have axes, bows and arrows and other instruments ready to oppose physically unilateral independence;"
- that parents withdraw their children from schools.

It is not difficult to see from the circular that ZANU under Sithole was mainly an instrument of negotiations, and not prepared in either its strategy or organization for armed struggle. The violent action it recommended was something left to unorganized and chaotic family actions, which meant backward weaponry was to confront well-trained and well-armed police and military forces. Unorganized people were no match for these forces, thus UDI was proclaimed and minority rule continued in defiance of internal as well as international legal and moral pressures. Even when organized guerilla war was launched in due course, Sithole called it a "franchise war."

In his consideration of what one can call long-range political concern, Sithole devoted some time to discussing the problem of political parties in Africa. He opens his discussion by raising a popular question: "Is Africa suited to a one-party or two-party systems?"

He challenges those who advocate a one-party system on the grounds of tradition arguing that the traditional African political system was a no-party system. He also refuses to accept the argument that a one-party system would avoid wasting time in opposition, and made the task of nation building easier. He argues that the elimination of the official opposition has not diminished the real opposition. To support his contention, he mentions a number of coups that swept away power holders in many one-party systems during the first half of 1960's.⁷⁷

He also rejects the prescription for two or multi-party system. From experience in countries such as Nigeria in 1966, and Congo Kinshasa (later Zaire) in 1965, Sithole is not convinced that the mere availability of official opposition would guarantee the continuity of a government. Again, experience

shows that from both one and two-party system regimes survived revolts. This argument leads Sithole to conclude that "A party system as such is neither good nor bad, just as all things are neither good nor bad."⁷⁸ From this conclusion, he steps over to the utilitarian premise and says "It all depends upon the use to which they are put."

Like the classical political philosophers, he asks the known normative question "What is a good political system?" . Answering this question is aimed at helping him find the type of party organization that suits Africa. He then reverberates the utilitarian proposition and says, "A good political system is one that yields maximum political satisfaction." However, he does not try to beat his ideological forerunners in the attempt to quantify "maximum happiness" or "maximum satisfaction", or the amount of pain and pleasure.

Sensing the futility of trying to concretize the concept "maximum political satisfaction," Sithole avoids any attempt to produce a 'recipie' by saying, "each African country must define maximum political satisfaction for itself using the experience and the resources at its disposal."⁷⁹ In doing this, Sithole leaves the problem unsolved. He does not go further and discuss who in society defines such maximum good.

However, it is clear that he endorses the policy of any one who controls the state machinery, that is, the elite. Though he tries to argue that such definition must include the "good of all," he leaves the matter to an individual country, saying "The question of totalitarianism or dictatorship, democracy, aristocracy, plutocracy, and the like are problems to be settled by the political architects of each country."⁸⁰ In doing so, he avoids the pains taking attempt to propose concrete organizational machinery which would correspond to a realistically analyzed situation of the continent.

However, it is not difficult to discern Sithole's choice on these matters. In the first place, he is not an opponent of the existing institutional structures. His contention is with the current actors. He sees the remedy for African independence and future life in the utilitarian and liberal heritage.

3.2.3.2.3 The Human Element

Sithole demands that political as well as economic systems must be "people-centered." He sees man as an end in himself not a means to some 'material end'. But he does not show how this can be achieved practically. For him a justifiable system is one that respects human dignity and individuality.

This view reflects Sithole's religious background and the influence of liberalism, as well as that of African 'humanist thinkers'.

How does he see the role of people in the process of liberation and in continued political life? As the above discussion reveals, an elite carries out the task of negotiation and petition in order to obtain political independence. The same group arouses the masses in rallies through oratory, discrediting the colonial system and describing the prosperous life the future has in store, given that "afrocracy" triumphs. In a long range perspective, the same elite, as the architect of the society, is to structure life in accordance with local possibilities.

The role of the masses seems to be important as Sithole opts for people-centeredness; they control the government, they elect and criticize. Sithole's "people" are well-informed and quite capable masses that understand the intricacies of modern government. They are so sophisticated that, by their own will, they move from dictatorship to democracy and vis-versa. He writes: "If people fail to solve through democracy the problems that face them they readily resort to and accept dictatorship. If they fail to satisfy their needs through dictatorship they tend to agitate for the overthrow of the totalitarian regime in favour of democracy."⁸¹

The utilitarian urge enables "people" to exercise such moves. In Sithole's own words, "This means that people adopt this or that principle - in this case democracy or dictatorship - on the basis of utilitarian considerations."⁸²

It is admissible that given proper politicization, mobilization and organization by consciously framed revolutionary thought, the masses can exercise control over a political system. This is possible if the system both in its civilian and military structures is built on the basis of such mobilized masses. Sithole does not suggest any meaningful way of educating the "people". Neither does he suggest any concrete structural means whereby "people" can experience such power he assigns to them.

His "people" are well informed beings who know the intricacies of modern government and are capable of controlling it. However, one wonders if the African masses whose majority are illiterate and kept for long under ignorance, without proper politicization, can perform such a duty. It is strange that the "people" also choose, when they want dictatorship from democracy, or can prefer bondage to freedom. Sithole holds such a view because of his contention that "democracy may differ from dictatorship only in practice

but not in origin."⁸³ He means that both dictatorship and democracy originate in the people.

In any case, however confusing Sithole's understanding of the terms people and democracy appears, it is clear that he is 'elitist' and predominantly status quo oriented with views of moderate reform.

3.2.3.2.4 Aid or Outside Assistance

It is obvious that outside help inevitably plays a role in the life of the developing countries. It is even more evident that those who struggle for their national independence look for assistance and solidarity from outside. Some tend to depend heavily on such 'aid' more than they do on internal resources. Although this may be concealed because of pride in terms such as "cooperation", it is clear that many regimes are built on the hope of outside assistance and, of course, through the mortgaging of their independence. What does Sithole have to say about aid?

Like many of his fellow nationalist leaders, he expresses the wish for a self-reliance, saying "Africa intends solving her problems in her own way in the light of her history, her experience and outlook on life."⁸⁴ However, he is not explicit as to how such a self-reliant course can be charted.

Of aid, looking at the matter from the viewpoint of the world-power blocs, he writes: "Yes, to be helped by either the West or the East, or by both, Africa likes, but neither the domination of the West nor that of the East does she like."⁸⁵ Stressing the same view as regards outside assistance, particularly during independence struggle, he says, "Even if help had come from the Devil himself, African nationalism would not have hesitated in accepting it."⁸⁶

He strongly cautions against the danger of being drawn into the blocs. He believes that Africa has a third path to plod. He asserts: "Africa has her own destiny. Other continents should not treat her as though she was the rubber-stamp of either capitalism or communism."⁸⁷

This is where Sithole sees the role of non-alignment, a policy he values highly. He says, it has "no other meaning than that Africa simply refuses to play the role of a rubber stamp."⁸⁸

As regards the quest for liberation, Sithole would have liked to secure the solidarity and support of the "liberal community". But he failed to find European liberals rallying behind the cause of the colonized. His expectation seems to be that liberal principles would stir the Europeans to oppose

imperialism and side with the African masses, as though a "class alignment" were taking place. This is the ideological illusion Sithole finds himself in.

It is paradoxical that in order to attack his opponent, Sithole sides with that very opponent. Though he tries to speak of the middle way, he does not want to admit that he is ideologically tied to the capitalist bloc. Nor does he hint at how Africa can become practically independent. He has not suggested how a country can start from scratch, basically dependent on its own resources and obtain socio-economic development, as well as political sovereignty. Besides this, he is not critical of the traditional 'aid' programs and the neo-colonial situation of the post-independence era.

Sithole has made a contribution in writing down his political thoughts. Many nationalists of his calibre have not done the same. This is part of the shortcomings of an illiterate culture. In particular, Sithole's "African Nationalism" has introduced him to the world as one who has devoted his life to the cause of decolonization in Africa.

However appreciable his efforts may be, Sithole's work projects a thinker ravaged by contradictions. A utilitarian on one hand, and yet religious moralist on the other, Burkean legalist, yet one who struggles against the status quo; an advocate of democracy yet condoning dictatorship; a nationalist fighter and a colonial apologist.

Although Sithole's line of thinking is trapped in a vortex of contradictions, his choice is clear. It is obvious that his future society will retain the existing politico-economic structures carved by the colonial wisdom. If Africans command their heights, the old structures are to be part of the "independent" state.

Sithole is basically an advocate of "liberal democracy," but lacking description as to how this will function in the African environment. His ideological roots can be traced to his educational and religious background, and his reading of mainly British and American political and historical literature, reading which introduced him to classical bourgeois liberal thought.

NOTES to CHAPTER 3.2 - 3.2.3.2.4

- 1 Ndabaningi Sithole, *African Nationalism* (new ed.)(London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p 117.
- 2 Ibid., p 31.
He speaks of "humiliation" and "third-rate citizenship" in describing the plight of the colonized. See N. Sithole, *Roots of a Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p 9.
- 3 Sithole, *African Nationalism*, op.cit., p 117.
- 4 Ibid., p 118.
- 5 Ibid., p 127.
- 6 Ibid.
- 7 Ibid., p 122.
- 8 Ibid., p 138.
- 9 Ibid., p 132.
- 10 Ibid., pp 128-129.
- 11 Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, (London & Glasgow: Collins, Fontana Books, 1962). See pp 85-86.
- 12 Sithole, op.cit., p 133.
- 13 Ibid., p 54.
- 14 Ibid., p 132.
- 15 Ibid., p 92.
- 16 Ibid., p 93.
- 17 Ibid., p 160.
- 18 Ibid., p 141. He has given some historical account of Zimbabwe in the book *In Defense of a Birthright* (Adelide, Toronto .. Norman Bethume Inst., 1975) pp 8-10, 150.
- 19 Sithole, *African Nationalism*, p 160. On tradition see N. Sithole, *Obed Mutezo, The Mudzimu Christian Nationalist* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1970) pp 5-6.
- 20 See Ibid., p 164.
- 21 Ibid., p 164.
- 22 See, for example, Basil Davidson, *Guide to African History*, op.cit., pp 18-26.
- 23 Sithole, *African Nationalism*, op.cit., p 190.

- 24 Ibid., p 147. But he does not try to give any rational explanation for the development of imperialism. He leaves it as though it is just a historical coincidence of a sort.
- 25 Ibid., p 140.
- 26 Ibid., p 47.
- 27 Ibid., pp 127-128.
- 28 Ibid., p 128.
- 29 Ibid., p 95.
- 30 Ibid., p 96.
- 31 Ibid., p 79.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid., p 96.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid., p 97.
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 Ibid., p 101.
- 38 Ibid., p 96.
- 39 Ibid., p 97.
- 40 Ibid., p 138.
- 41 Ibid., p 139.
- 42 Ibid., p 140.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid., p 149.
- 45 Ibid., p 86.
- 46 Ibid., p 175.
- 47 Ibid., p 140.
- 48 Ibid., p 176.
- 49 Ibid., p 142.
- 50 Ibid., p 100. Sithole also upholds 'elitist' views. See N. Sithole, Letters From Salisbury Prison (Nairobi: Transafrica Books Distributors, 1976). p 34.

- 51 Sithole, *African Nationalism*, pp 57-58.
- 52 *Ibid.*, p 130.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p 50.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 *Ibid.*, p 176.
- 56 Henry J. Schmandt, *A History of Political Philosophy*, op.cit., p 330.
- 57 Sithole, *African Nationalism*, op.cit., p 187.
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 *Ibid.*, p 189.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p 195.
- 61 *Ibid.*, p 196.
- 62 *Ibid.*
- 63 *Ibid.*, p 123.
- 64 *Ibid.*, p 139.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p 81.
- 66 *Ibid.*, p 86.
- 67 *Ibid.*, p 181.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p 140.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p 186.
- 70 *Ibid.*
- 71 *Ibid.*, pp 102-109.
- 72 *Ibid.*, p 38.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p 37.
- 74 *Ibid.*, pp 60-61.
- 75 *Ibid.*, p 107.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p 42.
- 77 *Ibid.*, p 170.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p 172.
- 79 *Ibid.*, p 17.

80 Ibid., p 174.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., p 176.

84 Ibid., p 187.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid.

87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

4.1 Introduction

The brief description given as a way of general introduction to modern African political development, as it appears in the foregoing chapter, also helps us to locate historically the 'radical reformists'. Therefore, here we take some of the prominent thinkers of this category from various colonial experiences briefly examining the nature of the independence they strove for and the type of system they envisaged to promote future development.

As the years of the independence movement of 1950's revealed, the level of political consciousness which was observable among most of the nationalists is that which can be characterized as moderate reformism. However, there are a few activists whose thinking bears the influence of the revolutionary tradition. There were radical thinkers who expressed the imperative of self-reliant development, if independence was to be at all meaningful.

However, the prevailing objective conditions and the concomitant level of consciousness were such that these thinkers, in terms of their consideration of the external relations and internal construction, showed tremendous ideological vacillation and confusion.

Yet, as we see in the writings of Sekou Touré of Guinea, Patrice Lumumba of the then Belgian Congo (today's Zaire), Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, the thinkers in the category called radical reform have demonstrated decisiveness and resolve on occasions of critical importance to the history of their nations' independence.

During the 1958 referendum¹ which forwarded the idea of a Franco-African Community, while all of the leaders of the concerned French African colonies voted in favour of the continued French-African links, Touré, in preference of "poverty in liberty to riches in slavery", opted for Guinea's independence.

Such thinkers thus make strong anti-colonial and anti-imperialist moves and stress the need for self-reliance and independence. For example, this is quite evident in Lumumba and Nyerere.

Patrice Lumumba, by 1958, outgrew his earlier ideas regarding the Belgo-African Union and took a strong anti-imperialist course, which also set him in contradiction with the internal 'evolué' stratum. He demanded that the

colonialists leave the Congo and publicly denounced colonialism, imperialism, racism and tribalism.² He called for the "liquidation of the colonial regime and the exploitation of man by man."³

Thus, calling for the immediate independence of his country, Lumumba refused the neo-colonial style arrangement, which he described as being "to set up a puppet government in the framework of which the old colonial administration will continue to pull the strings, thanks to the marionettes which it will have placed in power."⁴

Nyerere also, in his writings and speeches has constantly underlined the importance of safeguarding independence. He rejects the dominant presence of foreign capital in various forms in his country "because", as he puts it, "of its effect upon our national independence and because large numbers of our people would become the paid servants of another nation or another person."⁵

The thinkers who are placed into this category are also aware of the danger of economic domination by imperialist monopolies. However, although attempts are made to supplement their arguments through reference to revolutionary literature, their presentation lacks a deeper and systematic analysis which would, for example, examine the roots of imperialism in a wider historical perspective. This partly accounts for their hazy proposals in regards to genuine independence and development. In terms of future society, the radical reformists begin by conceptualizing some kind of alternative 'middle way' that would suit an African course of development. Their starting point is a strongly idealized African tradition of a cooperative and extended-family; within such traditional patterns, the radical reformists hoped to avoid the exploitative practice of capitalism and scientific socialism, which presupposes the inevitability of class struggle.

As evident in Sékou Touré's "communaucracy", this idealistic conception of a unitarian, solidaristic society is supposed to signify "the regaining of traditional political and cultural values; the definition of Guinea as an autonymous ideological entity."⁶

The reasoning behind such conceptions are based on Touré's own imagination of the Guineans, whom he termed as "a proletarian people, a people in which there is no bourgeoisie, nor capital, and where there is no wealth."⁷ Although Touré imagined that he was dealing with a situation "which transcends class struggle and class contradictions", it did not take too long before the dialectics of his society proved him wrong and soon he was forced to discover class contradictions.

Nyerere's Ujamaa is another model attempting to build a new society in a post-colonial African situation. The concept ujamaa, meaning "family-hood", was chosen, as Nyerere put it to "emphasize the African-ness of the policies we intend to follow" and because "it brings to the mind of our people the idea of mutual involvement in the family as we know it."⁸ Ujamaa was envisaged to be the Tanzanian model to socialism and as Nyerere emphasized, was not an "imported foreign ideology", but "building on the foundation of our past, and building also to our own design."⁹

Here, too, the Marxist theory of class struggle is rejected and revolution is to be avoided, as it creates "bitterness, suspicion, and hostilities between members of the society."¹⁰ Nyerere, also, considers the traditional African society as "socialist in the principles upon which it was based."¹¹

In the thoughts of radical reformists various strands of ideas are traceable; populism, utopian socialism, social democratic views and liberalism. A progressive approach towards scientific socialism is evident in some. Their emphasis on mass organizational work, trade unions, peasants, youth and women's associations and, on international level, their anti-imperialist stand and their caution against multi-national corporations, puts them in the path of "socialist orientation". However, transition is achieved only if a workers' party guided by Marxism-Leninism takes the leadership and launches a socialist construction in the society.

The thought of radical reformism is a confusing blend of various intellectual traditions. Nothing reveals this poverty of clarity better than these words of Nyerere: "We can only grope our way forward ... about our conditions in relation to our objective."¹²

The person selected for further scrutiny is Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. From the abundant treasure of his literature he will be made to speak for himself, from his youth until his ouster from power in 1966. Besides the attraction of his ample literature, the contradictory conclusions his thought has provoked, the development and change his thought has undergone over a period of time, and the system he tried to establish are some of the points responsible for choosing him for deeper analysis.

NOTES to CHAPTER 4

Introduction

- 1 James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, Jr. (ed). Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1964), p 195.
- 2 Patrice Lumumba (London: Panaf Books Limited, 1973), p 79.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., p 92.
- 5 Julius K. Nyerere, Freedom and Socialism (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969), p 317.
- 6 Silveira op.cit., p 104.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Nyerere, op.cit., p 2.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Ibid., p 23.
- 11 Ibid., p 312.
- 12 Ibid., p 19. Hirschbein, in his recent study of the Tanzanian experiment, concluded that Tanzanian socialism remains reformist "hovering between the existing system of exploitation, both internal and external, and a genuine socialist struggle and liberation." Serin Hirschbein, The Non-Marxist Path to Socialism. Monthly Review Vol. 32 No. 8 (1981) p 36.

- 4.2 The Political Thought of K. Nkrumah
- 4.2.1 Perception and Description of Problems
- 4.2.1.1 The Existing Society
- 4.2.1.1.1 Political Situation

The Ghanaian society into which Nkrumah was born was a British Colony known then as the Gold Coast. In this region during the current millennium as well as the earlier one, various political entities have waxed and waned.¹ The Ashanti 'empire' which flourished in the early 17th century is one of the examples of a high-level of political organization in the region.

The wealth of the region, particularly in gold, attracted the rising European maritime traders early. In the second half of the 15th century the Portuguese established trading posts and built forts. However, during the 17th century they were outmaneuvered by the Dutch who later were joined by the Danish and the British in the rivalry for the hegemony of the regional trade. The latter gained the upper hand from the 18th century onwards.

As the 19th century saw the partitioning of Africa by European imperialist interests, the region of Gold Coast became part of the dominion of the British. This was achieved between 1821 and 1901 as a result of successive defeats of the Ashanti, and the private treaties Britain obtained from various chiefs.

Nkrumah's life experience under colonial rule and his long stay in the USA and Britain as a student, teacher and political activist, enabled him to understand the mechanism and depth of imperialism in its historical setting. He witnessed how the colonial countries deprived the local population of deciding their political fate. Viewing the continental situation in late 1940's, he wrote, "Within the African continent there are different types of dependent areas: colonies, protectorates and mandates. In the British West Africa colonies, for example, each colony is under the direct control and administration of the Colonial Office through its representative, the governor, who is also the Commander-in-Chief and Vice-Admiral of the colony and protectorate."²

Being arranged in this manner "Most of the legislation for the colonies is enacted in the 'Mother Country' through her legislative organ."³ This was the situation in which Nkrumah found the Gold Coast.

4.2.1.1.2 The Economic Situation

Nkrumah's view of the economic situation under colonialism is influenced by Lenin's theory of imperialism, as we will see in our later discussion. He states, "The aim of all colonial governments in Africa and elsewhere has

been the struggle for raw materials, and not only this, but the colonies have become the dumping ground, and colonial peoples the false recipients, of manufactured goods of the industrialists and capitalists ... who turn to the dependent territories which feed their industrial plants."⁴

By such mechanism, he says, "imperialism has reduced the native population to economic slavery and degradation from which it must free itself."⁵

He finds valuable land, with its natural wealth, commerce, available industrial establishments, as well as manpower in the grip of the colonial powers and geared to their own benefit.

4.2.1.1.3 Socio-Cultural Situation

Being under colonial political and economic control, the people socially and culturally could not fare better. In general, the colonial people, racially despised and economically impoverished, held the status of servants in their own lands. Their cultures, also, were despised.

To express this situation, Nkrumah quotes a Zulu student from 1906, who, after having narrated the past civilizations of African origin, said: "In such ruins Africa is like the golden sun, that, having sunk beneath the western horizon, still plays upon the world which he sustained and enlightened in his career."⁶

Nkrumah attacks the subjective and ethocentric interpretation of African history by the 19th century European scholars. He contends: "we are a historical people responsible for our unique forms of language, culture and society."⁷

In order to refute the distortion of African culture by European writers, he takes pride in the civilization of Timbuktu, where "Africans versed in science, arts and learning were having their works translated into Greek and Hebrew and were, at the same time, exchanging teachers with the University of Cordova in Spain."⁸ This is well before the dawn of European rivalry in Africa.

4.2.1.2 Tradition or the Past History

Nkrumah appears to be well-informed about the internal processes affecting the course of African history, which developed into complex political organizations. "In the very early days of the Christian era, long before England had assumed any importance, long even before her people had united into a nation", he writes: "our ancestors had attained a great empire, which lasted

until the eleventh century, when it fell before the Moors of the North."⁹

Speaking of the glory of the empire of Ghana at its heights, he continues, "the empire stretched from Timbuktu to Bamako, and even as far as the Atlantic. It is said that lawyers and scholars were much respected in that empire and that the inhabitants of Ghana wore garments of wool, cotton, silk and velvet. There was trade in copper, gold and textiles fabrics, and jewels and weapons of gold and silver were carried."¹⁰

By way of refuting the argument that African history began with European colonialism, he mentions many more examples¹¹ and vehemently rejects the 'a-historical' thesis which was held concerning the continent.

For a nationalist struggling to build a free, future society, tradition or past history is of paramount importance. This we can see in Nkrumah's words of courage. "Thus may we take pride in the name of Ghana, not out of romanticism but as inspiration for the future. It is right and proper that we should know about our past. For just as the future moves from the present, so the present has emerged from the past. Nor we need be ashamed of our past. There was much in it of glory."¹²

To nullify the fallacious arguments of the colonialists that people in Africa are not ready for self-rule, he contends, "Were not our ancestors ruling themselves before the white man came to these our shores?"¹³ He also hints that democracy and egalitarian practices are not alien to the communally oriented African societies. This is one factor of tradition which has a strong grip on the minds of many African thinkers who speak of "African Socialism."

Equipped with the assurance history offers, Nkrumah, despite the current depressing situation, tries to see the glory the future may unfold: "We should aim at an even greater glory and majesty than that which existed in the days of ancient Ghana, the land of our forbears ... long before the slave trade and the imperialistic rivalries in Africa began."¹⁴

4.2.1.3 The International Link

As the society Nkrumah is striving to change is colonial examining his understanding of this phenomenon is essential. The fundamental premise on which Nkrumah builds his analysis holds that, "The basis of colonial territorial dependence is economic, but the basis of the solution to the problem is political. Hence political independence is an indispensable step towards securing economic emancipation."¹⁵

With further emphasis, he states: "The basic driving force today is economic, and economics are at the root of other types of imperialism."¹⁶

In his understanding of the phenomenon of imperialism, Nkrumah reveals the influence of Marxian tradition though his solutions are confusing from his perspective. "According to the Marx-Lenin point of view", he writes, "imperialism is not only the natural stage in the development of the capitalist system, but its highest stage in which the inner contradiction and inconsistencies of the system foreshadow its doom and demolition."¹⁷

Nkrumah's understanding of the effects of imperialism on the affected regions, also, reflects the influence of the radical tradition. His analysis, for example, agrees with the thesis of André Gunder Frank "that development and underdevelopment are also related, both through the common historical process that they have shared during the past several centuries and through the mutual ... influence that they have had, still have, and will continue to have on each other throughout history."¹⁸

For Frank the poverty of the imperialized regions and the affluence of the metropolitan regions are the creation of the capitalist development.

For Nkrumah also, "The whole policy of the coloniser is to keep the native in his primitive state and make him economically dependent."¹⁹ This is tied to the basic reason colonies are acquired in the first place by the imperialists, reasons Nkrumah describes as follows: (i) in order that they may have access to the raw materials of the colonies; (ii) in order to have markets for sale of the manufactured goods of the home country; and (iii) as a field for the investment of surplus capital.²⁰

In order to see the development at its earlier historical stage, Nkrumah tries to trace the growth of capitalism in Europe on the ruins of Feudalism. He considers the early mercantilist hunger for precious metals and the gradual drive for colonial expansion, which, upon the development of monopoly capital in 19th and early 20th centuries, created the apex of imperialism.

The fate of the affected regions in view of such development is that of being constantly impoverished. This is clarified by Nkrumah in his discussion of the "policies"²¹ of imperialism for safeguarding market and raw materials, namely (i) to make the colonies non-manufacturing dependencies; (ii) to prevent the colonial subjects from acquiring the knowledge of modern means and techniques for developing their own industries; (iii) to make colonial 'subjects' simple producers of raw materials through cheap labour; (iv) to prohibit colonies from trading with other nations.

Although Nkrumah sees political independence as the key to freeing a country from the grip of imperialism, he does not believe that real independence can be realized without economic independence. Political independence is not a guarantee in itself.

He discusses this problem in considerable depth in his book "Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism."

"The essence of Neo-colonialism," he writes, "is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."²²

Some of the methods²³ he mentions are used to keep the smaller states under neo-colonial influence include a) keeping troops in these territories; b) obliging them to take manufactured goods as curbing out competition; c) aid or payments towards functioning of government including personnel assistance; d) monetary control; and e) control by consortium of financial interests.

He calls neo-colonialism "power without responsibility ... exploitation without redress."²⁴

Speaking of aid, he says, it is "merely a revolving credit, paid by the neo-colonial master, passing through the neo-colonial state and returning to the neo-colonial master in the form of increased profits."²⁵

The most impressive work Nkrumah has done on the problem of neo-colonialism is his detailed analysis of the role of the economic activities of giant Western multinational corporations in Africa. In the book, "Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism" his arguments on exploitation are based on empirical findings and concrete figures, thus one sees also in statistical terms, how serious the role of these monopolies is in deciding the political and economic fate of the region. Their control of natural resources, human labour and other economic factors, appears nearly total.²⁶

4.2.2 Values and Goals

4.2.2.1 The Desired and Rejected Values

The racial inequality of the colonial system and an earlier tradition of African egalitarianism allows Nkrumah to stress the current need for equality and justice. His burning desire for independence is expressed in the demand for freedom and unity.

In his early youth, responding to a speech by a fellow-African on the need for harmony, Nkrumah maintained that "such harmony can only exist when the black race is treated as equal to the white race; that only a free and independent people, a people with a government of their own - can claim equality, racial or otherwise, with another people."²⁷

Rejecting the colonial practice of inequality, he states: "We must learn to live together. The age of aristocracy is gone. God made all of us equal."²⁸ Self government or political independence is seen as a means to an end, "to the building of the good life to the benefit of all..."²⁹

Although freedom from colonial bondage is held as primary step, Nkrumah tends to stress egalitarianism as an ultimate value to be desired. This tendency is expressed in his later political development as expressed in 'African Socialism' or 'Nkrumaism'.

In the later part of his political career and mainly after his overthrow from power in 1966, Nkrumah adopted "Scientific Socialism" as opposed to "African Socialism."³⁰

However, Nkrumah's thought, which influenced the Ghanaian political life after independence of 1957, continues to be known as 'Nkrumaism' - a strand of "African Socialism." Kofi Baako, Secretary of Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party, summarizes the objectives of 'Nkrumaism' as "a social reform aimed at the abolition of the social power wielded by private capital property and replacing it with the social power held by the people through the state."³¹

Baako writes further that "Nkrumaism stands for social justice, political and economic democracy, spiritual freedom and tolerance, national unity and international cooperation."³² Thus "Nkrumaism" is a programme of social reform basically of radical nature with egalitarian overtones.

4.2.2.2 Goals or Envisaged Future Society

4.2.2.2.1 Political Goals

Nkrumah's discussion of the political future can be dealt with on two levels, namely the immediate goal of achieving independence, and the long-range aspirations which he upheld after the 1957 independence.

The immediate goal of political activity for Nkrumah was to secure "freedom and independence" for the "chiefs and the people" of the Gold Coast. This desire is emphatically expressed by the Convention People's Party (CPP) policy: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added

unto you."³³ The motto of the party stated: "We prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility."³⁴

The main slogan which the CPP coined about itself at its inception was: "Self-Government Now." This distinguished the party from its more gradualist counterpart, which preferred to put its slogan as: "Self-government within the shortest possible time."³⁵

The type of system envisaged was somewhat under this policy moulded after Western liberal institutions, mainly those of the British parliamentary system. Evidence of this can be found in the early speeches of Nkrumah. Upon the foundation of the CCP, he declared: "By forming the Convention People's Party and so introducing into the country the party political system, the foundation stone of parliamentary democracy was laid."³⁶

His first visit as a government official of the colonial administration brought him to the United States in 1951. There he made a broadcast, as he puts it "assuring the people of America that the Gold Coast was determined to become a democratic state with the assistance of British and American friends."³⁷

Therefore one can conclude that Nkrumah's early desire was to fashion a system similar to that of Britain, and to continue cooperation with the colonial master. As one committed to the idea of unity, true to the tradition of 19th century nationalists such as Mazzini who had a strong influence on him, Nkrumah saw 'prosperity in unity' within the British Commonwealth. He anticipated that in due course, Ghana would obtain full Dominion status within the Commonwealth.

During his days of struggle for independence, it is beyond doubt that Nkrumah was a passionate supporter of association with the "mother country", through the Commonwealth. On one occasion he advised, as it were, the British government saying, "Today, more than ever before Britain needs more 'autonomous communities freely associated',³⁸ rather than subjection. He told the colonialists to tap the reservoir of peace and good will which the colonial people still showed them.

In his eloquent speech to the Legislative Assembly in 1953, he further revealed his commitment to the Commonwealth, saying, "We repudiate the evil doctrine of tribal chauvinism, racial prejudice and national hatred. We repudiate these evil ideas because in creating that brotherhood to which we aspire, we hope to make a reality, within the bounds of our small country, of all the grandiose ideologies which are supported to form the intangible

bonds holding together the British Commonwealth of Nations in which we hope to remain."³⁹

However, after independence within the coveted Commonwealth, Nkrumah, as one who recognized the importance of economic independence, was bound to be disillusioned by mere political independence in the long run. He began to see clearly how the newly won independence was in fact weak. He then revived his radical tone and launched an attack on neo-colonialism, which he described as "the granting of political independence that makes a state politically free but dependent upon the colonial power economically."⁴⁰

He saw old-style colonialism being replaced by a neo-colonialism all over the 'Third World', a process in which the US was the leading actor.

He saw salvation for Africa only in 'Unity'; this time not in a British Commonwealth but in an All-African Union Government⁴¹ under which all the independent countries could unite. "There is a real danger", he warned, "that the colonial powers will grant a nominal type of political independence to individual small units so as to ensure that the same old colonial type of economic organization continues, long after independence has been achieved."⁴²

Pan-Africanism which later culminated in the Organization of African Unity was an endearing principle to Nkrumah, he pursued it with all his strength. In 'unity' he saw prosperity and the possibility of building a mighty state, "pursuing socialist policies" in Africa which could emulate the strength of the "USSR or that of the United States".

4.2.2.2.2 Economic Goals

In spite of his deep-going analysis and detailed exposition of the exploitative role of imperialism, the prime motive of which is economic, Nkrumah's solution does not appear to be revolutionary. He aims at reforming monopoly capital through government participation which would, he hoped, pluck out the fangs of exploitation. This is clearly stated in his celebrated work "Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism." He writes: "The struggle against neo-colonialism is not aimed at excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less developed countries. It is aimed at preventing the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less developed."⁴³

As to how this can be done, the answer lies in, "foreign investment from capitalist countries ... must be invested in accordance with a national plan drawn up by the government ..."⁴⁴ But what type of government? The novelty

of the idea is questionable, every government in developing regions speaks of some sort of planning.

For the reconstruction of his socialized society in the era of post-independence, Nkrumah proposes five sectors in which the economy should operate.⁴⁵ These are: a) state sector; b) joint state-private sector with foreign capital; c) private sector, purely foreign capital; d) cooperative sector; and e) worker's enterprises sector.

This is done in accordance with what he expressed when he said: "We have decided that the economy of Ghana will, for some time to come, remain a mixed economy in which a vigorous public and cooperative sector will operate along with the private sector."⁴⁶

Economic goals embodying the above policies were enunciated more clearly when the Ghanaian first seven-year-plan was initiated under the party, "programme of work and happiness". The main tasks of the plan were said to be⁴⁷ 1) speeding up the rate of growth of the national economy, 2) enabling it to embark upon the socialist transformation of the economy through the rapid development of the State and cooperative sectors, 3) eradicating completely the colonial structure of the economy. But he does not reveal how this could be achieved.

Such a plan in which the state would participate allows Nkrumah to state with confidence: "We have embarked upon an intensive socialist reconstruction of our country."⁴⁸

However, this claim of socialism by Nkrumah, as we shall see in the following discussion, sounds like just a wish. He believes that the involvement of the state bureaucratic machinery in the name of socialism, without a Marxist-Leninist Party established by the fusion of the necessary theory with workers' and peasants' movements, and without a revolutionary struggle waged against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, can achieve a socialist transformation. He believes that his party and the inherited bureaucracy can build a socialist economy. This reveals his illusion even if the content of the economic programme is socialist-oriented.

4.2.2.2.3 Socio-Cultural Goals

Like any anti-colonial nationalist thinker, Nkrumah foresaw the possibility of improving the general socio-cultural situation of the Ghanaian people after decolonization. Improvements in education, health and other fields of social services to mitigate the hard living conditions of the people was something to be hoped for.

Nkrumah was very conscious of a need to revitalize African culture. He notes that upon independence, he decided "to take practical steps to revive the cultural and spiritual unity of the African people;"⁴⁹ a revival of the 'African' personality "temporarily submerged during the colonial period."⁵⁰ The first Africanists congress assembled in Ghana, 1962, was part of this effort.

Though it was denied recognition, he saw Africa as an important contributor to the wealth of human culture and knowledge, "by extending the frontiers of art, culture and spiritual value."⁵¹

He hoped that African research and studies would help rectify this in "re-discovering and revitalizing our cultural and spiritual heritage and values."⁵²

4.2.3 Means

4.2.3.1 Orientation and Theoretical Assessment

Nkrumah, by virtue of his stay in the United States and Britain between 1935 and 1947, where he pursued higher education and acquainted himself with various organizations and movements, reflects a variety of influences in his thinking. From the academic world of philosophy, such thinkers as Hegel⁵³, liberal nationalists such as Mazzini, and great revolutionary thinkers such as Marx and Lenin are mentioned by him for their impact on his thought.

Of the personalities of African origin, Nnamdi Azikwe of Nigeria⁵⁴, George Padmore, a West Indian Journalist and Marcus Garvey, the black American are credited for their early influence on his nationalism.

Probably the 1945 Pan-African Congress held in Manchester, where, with Padmore and others, Nkrumah participated as an organizer, set a landmark for his start as an active nationalist. In his long-drawn struggle to free the African people from the muzzle-grip of colonialism, which he launched in 1947 upon his return to the Gold Coast, this meeting played an important role.

His analysis of imperialism with the stress on economic factors, basically the Marxist-Leninist legacy, his critique of foreign monopolies of finance capital, his denunciation of artificial boundary creations in Africa, and his demand for political and economic freedom and democracy, all coincide with the resolution of the 5th Pan-African Convention.⁵⁵

Ideologically and as well as tactically, the Congress had an impact on Nkrumah. He writes: "The Congress unanimously endorsed the doctrine of African Socialism based upon tactics of positive action without violence."⁵⁶

Further, speaking of the choice of means, Nkrumah says: "Here were two ways of achieving self-government, one by armed revolution and the other by constitutional and legitimate non-violent methods."⁵⁷ Of these, he writes, "We advocated the latter method," absolute non-violence like Gandhi in Indian."⁵⁸ The two ways are put as: "by armed might or by moral pressure."⁵⁹

The positive actions advocated by Nkrumah in his practical struggle are those non-violent manifestations also used by Gandhi and his followers in India, which later influenced many others. The weapons of this approach, Nkrumah writes, are "legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute non-violence."⁶⁰

Nkrumah's vociferous talk about revolution, while following a gradualist and reformist approach in practice and his untiering rhetoric about organizational matters create confusion about the line of his thought. This is a problem one meets when trying to understand even the other advocates of "African Socialism", a course many believed was an alternative for African development. However, when he abandoned this idea later on, Nkrumah himself found it "meaningless and irrelevant."⁶¹

In his active days, however, there was the illusion of 'Nkrumaism'. Kofi Baako defined this as: "A non-atheistic socialist philosophy which seeks to apply the current socialist ideas to the solution of our problem.... It is basically socialism adapted to suit the conditions and circumstances of Africa."⁶²

Of course, the brand of thought which Baako described as "socialist non-dogmatic philosophy,"⁶³ was African Socialism. Comparing Nkrumaism with religion, Baako says it can be called an "applied religion."⁶⁴

Hence, Nkrumah in his active political life was not Marxist-Leninist, but rather a strong anti-imperialist nationalist. His readings of revolutionary literature and his association with Marxist organizations was, it seems, just to afford him some structural and organizational dexterity, a chief means to the center of power.

Upon his return home from England he was questioned about his ideological affiliation. The only sign the curious authorities found on him was a blank communist party card. Nkrumah testified: "I told them in all honesty that the card was of no consequence and explained I had associated myself with all parties ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left in order to gain as much knowledge as I could to help in organizing my own nationalist

party on the best possible lines when I eventually returned to my country."⁶⁵

Nkrumah treats the Ghanaian society as a united force standing in unity against imperialism, with the exception of those who stood for independence at a slower pace. He demanded freedom for the "chiefs and people." He did not approach the society from a class analytical angle.

His thought basically takes into consideration what African tradition offers: "communalism" and "humanism." This, modernized through the addition of Marxist terminology and a Leninist stress on organization, but devoid of the basic philosophical and theoretical premises, offered the facade of "socialist" thought.

Nkrumah realized this after he was ousted from power, and in his writings between 1966 and 1972, which are not considered in the study reflect his later development.⁶⁶ The relative development of the productive forces within Ghana itself and the international situation, mainly his contact with the socialist countries, must have helped the maturation of Nkrumah's thought at a later stage of his life.

4.2.3.2 Implementation

4.2.3.2.1 Organizational Strategy

Having chosen the reformist and constitutional means towards achieving the goals of independence, Nkrumah embarked upon framing and utilizing the appropriate organizational bodies. From his contact and studies in the West he knew the importance of organization in pursuit of political power. Accordingly, in an article written in January, 1949, he called upon fellow country men to Organize! Organize! Organize!

"In order to restore self-government, we must unite, and in order to unite, we must organize. We must organize as never before, for organization decides everything,"⁶⁷ he argued.

The two main organizations used by Nkrumah are party and bureaucracy. The springboard organization which enabled Nkrumah to establish his party, the CPP, was the United Gold Coast Convention established in 1947, "to ensure that by all legitimate and constitutional means the control and direction of the Government shall within the shortest time possible pass into the hands of the people and their chiefs."⁶⁸ He returned from England as Secretary to the UGCC.

After a period of work in this organization, he acquainted himself with, and also organized, various groups and mass associations in the Gold Coast.

Then, in collaboration with the youth wing of the UGCC that represented the "Self-Government Now" slogan, Nkrumah established the Convention People's Party in 1949.

The role of the party at national level was to negotiate independence utilizing the colonial institutions, mainly the Legislative Assembly, while at the local level engaging itself in educational campaigns to prepare the masses for the long awaited self-rule. "I brought my Party into power with a mandate to negotiate for self-government now,"⁶⁹ Nkrumah asserted.

The party won elections twice, in 1951 and 1954, then took power in 1957, when the British relinquished their colonial grip. Besides negotiations and reform measures taken in the legal arena, limited positive actions were also utilized in 1949. At the start, Nkrumah argued that beyond peaceful actions such as boycotts, demonstrations and non-cooperation, there should be "no looting or burning of buildings, no rioting, damage or disturbance of any sort."⁷⁰

The climax of this positive action was reached in January 1949, when Nkrumah joined with trade union leadership in declaring that "apart from the hospital workers, those employed on water conservancy and other public utilities, and the police, a general strike should begin."⁷¹ At a higher level, the party's role was to present well-versed legal expertise for negotiation employed through the established avenues, and these, at times, reinforced by positive actions.

At lower level, the party gathered the population under its umbrella through personal and affiliated memberships. In the case of the latter, various mass organizations were integrated into the CPP.⁷²

The main instruments for conveying the political message were newspapers⁷³ and mass meetings. However, as mass illiteracy prohibited the majority from utilizing newspapers, mass meetings were the main avenue of reaching them. This, in turn, had its misgivings in that the masses were left with only shallow politicization. Speaking on the nature of such meetings, Nkrumah observed: "No plan appears to be made in regard to speakers or their subjects."⁷⁴ Persons of any interest spoke on any subject on which "neither the Party nor the Government have given any line..."⁷⁵

In 1961, Nkrumah opened an ideological school in order to correct this superficiality in politicization.⁷⁶ On that occasion he declared, "the old time 'say anything' sort of attitude, which has long characterized the speeches of Comrades at Party Rallies, must have a new orientation."⁷⁷ This further

indicates how ideologically confused even the party leadership was.⁷⁸

Bureaucracy was another essential means Nkrumah depended upon for change. When he began his political career in the Legislative Assembly, the civil service, the police, the judiciary and defence were all in the hands of the colonial representative, the Governor. The functionaries in the higher positions of the institutions were foreigners; Nkrumah had to rely on them in his reform efforts. Even later, when time permitted "Africanization", he went out of his way to attract the foreign personnel to manage the colonial bureaucratic machinery. He offered inducement "to make it their worthwhile to stay, otherwise there would be a general exodus which would not be in the interest of the country."⁷⁹

He realized when it was too late the frustration of attempting to carry out a radical policy through semi-colonial or neo-colonial bureaucratic machinery. Nkrumah saw Ghana was well-entrenched in the post-independence politics, with national sovereignty declared and Africans replacing the colonial masters in long-coveted key places, and national culture given free expression. Expressing modestly the nationwide popular scandal of the day against the inherited institutions, he said: "I am aware that the evil of patronage finds a good deal of place in our society ... The same thing goes for nepotism...."⁸⁰ He further spoke of "civil service red tape" and the problems involved in the attempt of the ruling group to "combine business with political career", the problem of bureaucratic capitalism.

Nkrumah's approach to change is thus reformist: the utilization of peaceful means and moral pressure to achieve political goals. He understood the need for organization and he created new ones, while utilizing the existing ones for his own purposes. However, in his political practice he remained ideologically ambiguous and illusive.

4.2.3.2.2 The Human Element

Nkrumah's general view of man was elicited in connection with his experience in colonial gaol where he remained for fourteen months as a result of political agitation in 1949. He notes, "No man is born a criminal; society makes him so, and the only way to change things is to change the social conditions; it is only from the social standpoint that crime and punishment can be effectively approached."⁸¹

What is the role of the people concerned, then, in changing their social conditions; how does Nkrumah approach this problem? As was already indicated, during his active political life, Nkrumah did not view Ghanaian society in

terms of class cleavage based on economic interest. He addressed it as a unit, with a generally shared common interest in gaining independence from imperialism; though he did clash with one group that wanted liberation at a more gradual pace. Nevertheless, after his 1966 ouster his views changed, as we read in his book "Class Struggle in Africa." What happened after 1966, however, is beyond the scope of this study.

He demanded freedom for chiefs and people. As we saw earlier, this policy was to be pursued through peaceful negotiations. Such subtle negotiations and moral pressure require a sophisticated 'elite' to carry them out, one well-versed in the functionings of colonial legal and political institutions. Well-suited for this, naturally, were the existing urban intellectuals, business men and professional groups. Nkrumah gathered them and the tribal chiefs together in forming his political party, and with this he launched the negotiation process.

Basically as a factor of preponderance, at the mass-level various associations such as workers' cooperatives, farmers', women and youth associations were linked to the party machinery. Such were utilized in voting processes as well as in supplementing the legal efforts of their leaders through the pressures of positive action. They were rallied together through politicization centering around an appeal to national independence and the existing communality of African traditions as well as through talk of a socialism which promised to unfold a prosperous future.

Hence, in such a situation the main actors were the 'elite' who responded with minimum signal in preparing themselves for taking over the colonial structure. As Nkrumah observed at that juncture, "a feeling of frustration among the educated Africans who saw no way of ever experiencing political power under the existing colonial regime, made fertile ground for nationalist agitation."⁸²

4.2.3.2.3 Assistance and Cooperation

Outside help or aid is an issue of considerable importance in developing regions. The nature of the situation different countries find themselves in necessitates cooperation with each other. Such cooperation is deemed to be for actual or anticipated mutual benefit, be it economic, political or strategic and security. There are differing views on the phenomenon aid and cooperation taken by various thinkers. Some stress self-reliance and others anticipate building upon the generous endowments of outside goodwill. Yet others attempt to combine both, a course which perhaps most would like to

associate themselves with. Without thorough politicization and the awakening and organization of the masses under capable popularly supported leadership, a leadership that bases its strategy of development first and foremost on internal sources and human will and is sustained by corresponding ideology, one wonders how the two can be effectively combined.

Nkrumah's view on assistance or aid took shape at an early stage of his political activity, as expressed during his 1951 visit to the United States. He says, "I spoke of the needs of the Gold Coast for technicians, machinery and capital to develop its great natural resources and explained that I was appealing to the democracies of Britain and the United States for their assistance, but that if this should not be forthcoming, I would be forced to turn elsewhere."⁸³

During that trip, at various gatherings Nkrumah made clear his anxiousness to get development assistance from the U.S. He repeatedly mentioned that he was aiming at building a democratic society with the help of the British and Americans.

In any case, as he later expressed it, especially in his book "Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism", he became deeply disappointed with Western aid, which he saw as one of the instruments of control and exploitation. His direct attack on U.S. agencies put him in sharp confrontation with the American government.⁸⁴

While vigorously attacking aid, Nkrumah continued to receive it in all its forms. His endeared giant project, the Volta Dam, offers an example. Speaking of its financing, he said his government took on the bulk of financial burden while "the American and British Governments have joined in the financing of it, together with World Bank, and we have had the most helpful and fruitful collaboration with American enterprise in the shape of the Kaiser group of industries."⁸⁵

Then, on the next page of the same book, he unleashes a fierce attack on imperialism and monopoly capital. He sees neo-colonialism as the "sum total of ... modern attempts to perpetuate colonialism while at the same time talking about 'freedom' ..."⁸⁶ Aid is considered to be one of these attempts.

He accepted and supported the idea of non-alignment which he described as "an article of faith in this continent."⁸⁷ He further stated, "We have no wish, and no intention of being drawn into the Cold War."⁸⁸

On the question of international cooperation, there is an expression of solidarity in CPP's Programme which obviously represents Nkrumah's wish.

The programme in its first part, under the title 'International', section I, names as one of its objectives the following:

"To work with other nationalist democratic and socialist movements in Africa and other continents, with a view to abolishing imperialism, colonialism, racialism, tribalism and all forms of national and racial oppression and economic inequality among nations, races and peoples and to support all action for World Peace."⁸⁹

For certain Nkrumah was one of the most consistent and most fierce speakers against imperialism in Africa. He worked untiringly to assist the various liberation efforts which appeared on the continent in the first half of 1960's.

Another field of cooperation for which Nkrumah lived and laboured concerns Pan-Africanism. As he believed that Pan-African unity would save the continent from balkanization, divide and rule, poverty and all ills of underdevelopment, he worked for this ideal throughout his life, beginning with the 1945 Manchester Convention until his death. He was one of the moving forces behind the OAU, as he hosted the first Conference of independent African head of states in 1958.

In unity he saw strength and prosperity for the continent. In many of his speeches he proposed political unity for Africa based on Common "Defence, Foreign Affairs and Diplomacy, and a Common Citizenship, an African Currency, an African Monetary Zone and an African Central Bank."⁹⁰ But as happened in his internal politics, he lacked a proper method for the realization of such unity.

Nkrumah, no doubt, made a significant impression on the history of African political development as an ardent speaker against imperialism, advocate of radical change and upholder of African unity. On the other hand, on closer examination of his work as an organizer, political leader and thinker, one finds a life surrounded by ideological contradictions, personality cult and 'opportunism'.

Ideologically, he vacillated between liberal-radicalism and socialism. His earlier concepts of "African socialism" and Marxist "phrase-mongering" are some of the sources of confusion. In international forums he sided with the revolutionary camp and even produced a volume castigating neo-colonialism. But in internal relations he saw unity between the "chiefs and the people." Thus denying the existence of class struggle.

As for the socialist construction he claimed to effect, he had neither clear theory nor the necessary organization. His party system was one of compromise between the views of militants and the moderates.⁹¹ The party's leadership was composed of the "most loyal" rather than the "best suited" for the task. The state apparatus, the bureaucracy, the military, the police, the courts, all were made up of the hand-overs of the colonial era. As such they were by no means instruments for effecting an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and anti-bureaucratic capitalist revolution. Yet, Nkrumahism was seen as socialism by his propagandists.

Nkrumah's philosophy expounded in his "Consciencism", is another source of confusion that stands against the claim of scientific socialism.⁹²

Even if talk of socialism as abundant in the massmedia, its message did not take root among the masses. As Otegbeye observed, "Nkrumah and the CPP attempted to build socialism without taking the working class into their confidence, without involving the masses in an understanding of the new venture."⁹³

The multiplicity of opportunists and cult-makers, including the flattering "business tycoons" that surrounded him, was another millstone around Nkrumah's neck. It has been said that it was "the opportunists who contributed the most to building up Nkrumah, proclaiming their loyalty to him arousing bitterness and cynicism in the party rank."⁹⁴

They showered him with "idolatrous appellations and attributes."⁹⁵ The 'Star of Africa', 'Deliverer of Ghana', 'Iron Boy', 'The Messiah' were some such attributes. The following newspaper quotation illustrates the bizzariness of such attempt and at the same time reveals the characteristic confusion that existed in political theory in those days. It begins by calling Nkrumah "our Messiah" and goes on to say, "From time to time individuals have caught glimpses of the Christ or the true idea of God, good. Long before Jesus, were men like Moses, Joshua, Elisha etc, who demonstrated the true idea of sonship. This demonstration by no means ended with Jesus. Why? Karl Marx demonstrated the Christ, and so did Lenin of USSR, Ghandi of India, Mao of China and in our midst Kwame Nkrumah."⁹⁶

When he fell from power in the 1966 coup d'état, the opportunists deserted Nkrumah, many denouncing him as "a fraud of highest order."⁹⁷

Nkrumah's experiment towards "socialist orientation" that began in 1961 was wrecked by the reactionary coup. However, divorced from practical politics he continued in a revolutionary line of thinking, where he made signi-

ficant departures. First, Nkrumah broke with his Gandian tradition of non-violence, epitomized in his "positive action" and ventured to publish a "Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare" in 1967. Secondly, he departed from his earlier idealistic view of society and adopted the approach of class struggle as evidenced in his book "Class struggle in Africa", published in 1970. Politically active Nkrumah, however, was a radical reformist and yet a great inspiration of his time.

NOTES to CHAPTER 4.2 - 4.2.3.2.3

- 1 See for example, Basil Davidson, *Guide to African History*, op.cit. pp 31-36.
- 2 Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path* (London: Panaf Books Ltd, 1973), p 30.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., p 15.
- 5 Kwame Nkrumah, *Autobiography* (London: Panaf Books Ltd., 1957) p 38.
- 6 Ibid., p 213.
- 7 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 208.
- 8 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 153.
- 9 Ibid., p 163.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 See Davidsson, op.cit.
- 12 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 163.
- 13 Ibid., p 166.
- 14 Ibid., p 153.
- 15 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 15.
- 16 Ibid., p 17.
- 17 Ibid., p 23 and for the Leninist view of imperialism see Lenin, *Select-ed Works*, Vol. 1 (Moscow, Progress Publishers) pp 634-726.
- 18 André Gunder Frank, *On Capitalist Underdevelopment* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1975), p 1.
- 19 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 38.
- 20 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 19.
- 21 Ibid., pp 22-23.
- 22 Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*, (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1965), p
- 23 Ibid., pp ix-x.
- 24 Ibid., p xi.
- 25 Ibid., p xv.

- 26 For example See analysis in Nkrumah's Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism, pp 110-197.
- 27 Nkrumah, Autobiography, p 12.
- 28 Ibid., p 154.
- 29 Ibid., p 167.
- 30 See Wilfred Carter and Martin Kilson, ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p 201.
- 31 Paul E. Sigmund, Jr. The Ideologies of Developing Nations op.cit., p 189.
- 32 Ibid., p 192.
- 33 Nkrumah, Autobiography, p 135.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Ibid., p 79.
- 36 Ibid., p 89.
- 37 Ibid., p 153.
- 38 Ibid., p 162.
- 39 Ibid., p 167.
- 40 Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, p 172. His view on neo-colonialism goes together with Lenin's idea of "transitional forms of state dependence," Lenin Selected Works Vol. I, p 697.
- 41 See the speech in Nkrumah's Revolutionary Path, pp 229-233.
- 42 Ibid., p 147.
- 43 Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism, p . But he does not discuss how this can be done and by what type of a Government.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 See Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, pp 191-192.
- 46 Ibid., p 191.
- 47 See Ibid., p 189.
- 48 Ibid., p 185.
- 49 Ibid., p 205.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Ibid., p 212.

- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Hegel, with his high valuation of national state, his dedication to the "spirit of the nation" or "Volksgeist", and his zeal for unity against "the particularism" and "provincialism" that ravaged the Germany of his day, had a great impact on Nkrumah, who saw salvation in unity. For Hegel's view for example see G.H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, op.cit., pp 632-634.
- 54 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, pp 18, 21, 41.
- 55 See *Africa Year Book and Who's Who 1977*, op.cit., pp 172-173.
- 56 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, pp 43-44.
- 57 Ibid., p 92.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 93.
- 60 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 92. A similar approach is utilized by other activists, such as Albert Luthuli of South Africa and Indabaninghi Sithole of Rhodesia.
- 61 See for example Carter and Kilson, op.cit., pp 200-202.
- 62 Sigmund, op.cit., p 188.
- 63 Ibid., p 189.
- 64 Ibid., p 188.
- 65 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 65.
- 66 His books "Class Struggle in Africa", London: Panaf Books Ltd. 1970, and "Voice From Conakry", London: Panaf Books Ltd. 1967 are some examples of later development.
- 67 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 77.
- 68 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, p 57, 112-113.
- 69 Ibid., p 205. The CCP won the first election in 1951 and Nkrumah became "Leader of Government Business". Again after 1954 election he became Prime Minister.
- 70 Ibid., p 74.
- 71 Ibid., p 97.
- 72 See Party Programme, *Revolutionary Path*, p 60.
- 73 Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, pp 76-77.
- 74 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, p 174.
- 75 Ibid.

- 76 Ibid., p 172.
- 77 Ibid., p 175.
- 78 The Party itself was not a well-ordered body with concrete revolutionary principles, rather it was a "brotherhood". See Revolutionary Path, p 154.
- 79 Nkrumah, Autobiography, p 123.
- 80 Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, p 152.
- 81 Ibid., p 109.
- 82 Ibid., p 61.
- 83 Ibid., p 136.
- 84 See Neo-colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism, pp 239-254.
- 85 Nkrumah, Revolutionary Path, p 198. Here the aim is not to give an impression that receiving aid is wrong, but it is important to ask who is receiving it and for what use?
- 86 Neo-colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism, p 239.
- 87 Revolutionary Path, p 241.
- 88 Ibid.
- 89 Ibid., p 59.
- 90 Ibid., p 240.
- 91 Coleman and Rosberg, op.cit., p 259.
- 92 His first edition of the book Consciencism published in 1964, contrives an ideology "born out of the crisis of Christianity, Islam and traditional humanism" - For more argument, see "A Marxist - Leninist Analysis of Nkrumahism" African Red Familey v. 1 London: Hamibatan Publications No. 2 (1973).
- 93 Tunji Otegbe, "Leninism and the African Revolution" World Marxist Review v. 13 No. 8 (1970). p 81
- 94 Coleman and Rosberg, op.cit., p 303.
- 95 T. Peter Omari: Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of an African Dictatorship, (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1970), p 2.
- 96 Coleman and Rosberg, p 305.
- 97 Omari, op.cit., pp 6-7.

5.1 Introduction

The designation "national-democratic revolution", represents a whole transitional period in a process of deep-going revolution of a backward society. A society which is struggling to overcome semi-capitalist and pre-capitalist socio-economic and political backwardness and is surging ahead towards socialist reconstruction. A state well into such deep transformation is termed, among other things as a state of "socialist orientation"; "revolutionary democratic regime," "progressive state" and "state of national democracy."

The task facing such a national democratic state can be generalized to include the following,¹ to consolidate independence; to carry out agrarian reform and eliminate the hold-overs of feudalism; to uproot imperialist economic dominance, restrict the activities of foreign monopolies and later, expel them from the national economy; to secure substantial improvement in living standards for all the people; to democratize social life; to create a national industry; to pursue an independent and peaceful foreign policy, including the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist states.

The thinkers dealt with here are ones who concern themselves with such transitional processes. While the term 'national democratic revolutionaries' or 'revolutionary-democrats', could include radical reformists, the sense it is used in here attempts to denote those thinkers who clearly advocate revolutionary transformation, both in terms of external relations and internal structures. Their means are marked by a combination of violent and non-violent tactics. In analysing past history, outside influence and the future development of the society they deal with, their method and outlook bear consistent Marxist-Leninist theoretical heritage - a fact which they may or may not publicize at a certain stage.

However, there is a problem in finding a clear dividing line between a revolutionary democrat, who follows the general Marxist line of thinking and a Communist. The latter openly declares his Marxist partisanship and may belong to a group, movement or a party, while the former may begin as a democrat and later adopt a revolutionary stance, even joining or forming a vanguard revolutionary - democratic party. At times Marx and Engels too were referred to as "democrats".

This problem can be easily understood by isolating the transitional phenomenon of national democratic revolution on the process which leads towards socialism.

First of all, there is no one stroke jump to socialism for a backward society with pre-dominantly pre-capitalist socio-economic relations. Without, that is, going through the stage of national democratic revolution, which should prepare the material basis for socialist construction. Thus the approach involves 1) denouncing the capitalist path - the way of 'stunted' capitalism and choosing socialist-orientation or socialist path; 2) this is done through a) revolutionary-democratic parties, which cooperate with communists either in their fold and/or outside their parties and, also, in the final analysis accept scientific socialism as their guide, b) a Communist Party leadership in cases where the working class has attained the political and organizational maturity to create such a party. In such case the transitional form is "popular-democratic." 3) In both cases the goal is socialist construction.

Leaving a more detailed discussion to the next chapter, suffice it to say that the thinkers contained in this category belong to the situation presented in 2, a above.

Revolutionary thinking, although it is traceable in only a few cases in colonial Africa, remains basically a challenge of the post-independence era. It is a result of dialectical process at work - a result of those laws that govern social development, and through time bring forth the sharpening of new contradictions as the old ones subside.

In the case of the newly emerging African societies, the more-or-less all embracing issue of direct colonialism loses its significance, and the matters of neo-colonialism and internal class alignment begin to dominate. In such a situation, it is evident that those who control the means of production (internal or external interests) and the political machinery, stand for status quo, while the workers, peasants and the revolutionary section of the middle strata present the antithesis.

It is those revolutionaries utilizing Marxist teachings who attempt to uncover the exploitative nature of the current society and set clear goals for its future re-construction, as well as clarifying the means towards those goals.

The politics represented by thinkers of this category are those of a transitional stage, basically the result of prevailing objective conditions, and

they are propounded with the aim of accomplishing stage by stage socio-economic and political changes that lead to socialist construction.

Thinking characteristic of this stage is found in the works of intellectuals², such as Amilcar Cabral's Revolution in Guinea, that of Claude Ake's Revolutionary Pressures in Africa and Nkrumah's Class Struggle in Africa. References will also be made to some aspects of their work under the category 'Scientific Socialists'.

The practical carriers of revolutionary democracy mentioned here as examples, are those liberation movements which were engaged in protracted guerilla warfare against colonialism and imperialism. These include the MPLA - the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, FRELIMO - the National Movement of the Mozambican people, PAIG - the Nationalist Movement of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and SWAPO - The South West African People's Organization. Post-independence Angola and Mozambique are among the scores of African countries which have chosen the path of socialist development.³

As evidence of their revolutionary stance regarding independence and future society, some citations are made from some documents and books concerned with the above movements.

The MPLA saw armed struggle as "a revolutionary process both dynamic and irresistible." In their meaning revolution was not just mending the existing structures, but "a complex process involving two basic factors - destruction and construction."⁴

In practical terms, the task of this revolution was in seeing to it that "on the one hand the colonial economy is destroyed, on the other a start must be made on building a new life."⁵

The revolutionary struggle, which was being waged for the realization of the deepest aspirations of the Angolan people, "particularly of the most exploited sectors of the people, the peasants and workers", was also anti-imperialist.

This anti-imperialist stance was one based on a consciously assimilated Leninist analysis of the phenomenon imperialism, its economic motive and its link, from the early days of the rise of capitalism, to African history.

Characteristic of such a stance is the analysis of the FRELIMO Leadership, who stated: "Early in the sixteenth century the Portuguese decided to build a maritime and commercial empire for the purpose of getting an upper hand in the flow of spices from the East. In carrying out this mission, the Por-

tuguese ... discovered new and probably more lucrative sources of wealth: the slaves of East Africa, and the sugar, tobacco, and gold of the New World."⁶

One of SWAPO's inexorably pursued basic objectives is a "complete elimination of the colonial system of imperialism." As the organization's constitution states, it is "To fight relentlessly for the immediate and total liberation of Namibia from colonial and imperialist occupation."⁷

Such revolutionary thinkers possess an analytical tool for the understanding of the multifarious workings of imperialism, particularly its economic entrenchment that could continue long after independence. Hence, they make it clear that this can be checked only by public control of the means of production and by the elimination of exploitation.

For example, SWAPO's constitution solemnly undertakes: "To ensure that the people's government exercises effective control over the means of production and distribution and pursues a policy which facilitates the way to social ownership of all resources of the country; To work towards the creation of a non-exploitative and non-oppressive classless society."⁸

Amílcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau and the leader of PAIGC until his death in 1972, is an appropriate spokesman for this stage. His clarity of thought, as well as the simplicity of his presentation, make him an attractive candidate for analysis.

A leader of one of the revolutionary movements of the protracted colonial wars which drove out the imperialist - supported Portuguese fascist colonialism from Africa and as a child of such revolutionary practice, Cabral is one of the standard bearers of the revolutionary trend that characterized many young African activists of late 1960's, a trend whose effect can be clearly read in the socio-political contours of the region, especially in the period since 1974.

Cabral is selected in spite of his party's undecidedness as regards scientific socialism, as yet,⁹ a course which the sister organizations MPLA, FRELIMO, as well as SWAPO have already chosen.

Introduction

- 1 Albert Tshume "Africa's Revolutionary Way Forward" *The African Communist* 52 (1972), p 101.
- 2 The work of the three thinkers mainly relevant to the revolutionary stage are:
Amilcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea*, London 1969. Claude Ake, *Revolutionary Pressures in Africa*, London: Zed Press, 1978.
Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, London: Panaf Books, 1970. This is the book where one sees Nkrumah's transition of thought towards more commitment to the Marxist theory of class and class struggles.
- 3 See, for example, Anatoly Gromyko, "The Present Stage of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle in Africa." *Social Sciences No. 4* (Moscow; USSR Academy of Sciences, -1978), p 29. It is said that there are more than ten socialist-oriented countries in Africa including Algeria, Angola, Guinea, Mozambique, The People's Republic of the Congo, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Benin. Of these countries Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin and The People's Republic of Congo have declared their acceptance of scientific socialism.
- 4 *Revolution in Angola* (London: The Merlin Press Ltd., 1972), p 11.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Mutiso and Rohio op.cit., p 306.
- 7 SWAPO Constitution Article III, B, 1.
- 8 Article III, B, 7-8.
- 9 Of this lack of transition after independence of 1974, Silveira writes: "But this party lacks the proletarian dimension which up to now has been unconventionally replaced by the revolutionary role of the petty bourgeoisie." Silveira, op.cit., p 20. However, Amilcar Cabral who had been aware of transitional problems is selected here not to account for the party's later development, a situation which was outside his life-span, but for what he thought and wrote in his life-time.

5.2 The Political Thought of Amilcar Cabral

5.2.1 Perception and Description of Problems

5.2.1.1 The Existing Society

5.2.1.1.1 Political Situation

Amilcar Cabral's political activity and thought are pervaded by the colonial reality his country Guinea-Bissau found itself in. Cabral's view of the political situation of this country under Portugal, expressed in one of his earlier pleas in an international arena, was that of "absurdity". He contends: "fundamental rights of man, essential freedoms, respect for human dignity - all these are unknown in our country."¹

In particular, outraged by the insistence of the Portuguese on holding on to their colonies even in the era of 'decolonization', he says, "while colonial powers in general accept the principle of self-determination of peoples and seek ... to resolve the conflicts which oppose them to the people which they dominate, the Portuguese government obstinately maintains domination and exploitation...."²

He rejected the belated tactic of the Portuguese to convert the colonies into overseas provinces. He accuses them of "arresting, torturing, killing, massacring and launching a colonial war"³ in Africa. He describes life under the fascistic colonial power as "to live in a veritable state of siege."

Further describing the current fate of the society Cabral says, "The laws and the daily realities of economic, political, social and cultural life to which the people of Guinea are subjected reveal that the people are the target of one of the most violent and best-organized examples of oppression ... and economic exploitation in the history of colonialism."⁴

Cabral speaking on basically political situation says, "the constitutional, legal, political and administrative situation of Guinea ... have never given the people of that country an opportunity of fulfilling their aspirations, or of making even gradual headway along the path of freedom and progress..."⁵

5.2.1.1.2 The Economic Situation

In economic terms, also, Guinea is considered to be one of the most undeveloped countries. It was an agrarian society where a colonial practice of producing a main cash crop in this case peanuts, for export dominated the picture.⁶ The industrial sector was almost nonexistent. Peasant agriculture barely sustained the livelihood of the population and famine was common. Cabral

gives an example of this from his Cap Verde experience saying "only in six years (1942-1947)... 30 000 to 40 000 inhabitants struck down by famine"⁷

This situation known as "agrarian crisis", subjected the population to displacement of "thousands of its children as contracted workers for the Portuguese plantations in other colonies."⁸

In view of this, Cabral says, "the pseudo 'economic development plan' is nothing more than mystification, a source of enrichment for the colonial authorities."⁹

He also says that Guinea was "a purely commercial colony and not a colony of settlers ..."¹⁰ Foreign businessmen controlled the commercial life of the country. Often, Portuguese economic backwardness is cited by Cabral. This means Portugal itself had to depend on more developed and stronger economies, which made her also an intermediary for the exploitation of the colonies. Cabral writes, "To ensure the support of certain powers, the Portuguese government grants extensive facilities to non-Portuguese capital for the colonial exploitation of the natural resources ... and the manpower of Guinea."¹¹

5.2.1.1.3 Socio-cultural Situation

Cabral does not view socio-cultural problems in isolation from the general economic level of development. Speaking of the difficulties in mobilizing the population, he mentions the issue of culture, saying, "our own African culture, which corresponds to the economic structure we still have, made certain aspects of the struggle difficult ..."¹² He expresses how difficult it is to struggle where "natural phenomena can be interpreted as a product of the will of the spirits."¹³

Among factors unfavourable to liberation are included "economic underdevelopment, the consequent social and cultural backwardness of the popular masses, tribalism and other contradictions of lesser importance."¹⁴

He blames colonialism for the awfully low-level of educational and health facilities found in the country. The 1960's began with 99% illiteracy and 14 university trained men in Guinea.

Though Cabral does not devote much time to discussing the cultural consequences of colonialism, he accuses the Portuguese of "a complete lack of respect and consideration for the African personality and the African culture."¹⁵

As proof of such neglect by Portugal, he cites other examples. "It is sufficient ... to look at how Europe (mainly France, Belgium and England) became

full of African works of art; this opened the way to universal knowledge of the abilities of the African, of his culture in general, of his religions and philosophical concepts - in other words, the way in which African confronts the reality of the world with cosmic reality."¹⁶

5.2.1.2 Tradition or Historical Past

Amílcar Cabral is very conscious of past African history and the process of internal socio-economic development before the coming of imperialism. His repeated acknowledgement of the past has unmistakable implications for his courage about the future. However, as his concern is mainly to refute and combat the colonial denial of his peoples' historical right, he deals with tradition primarily in relation to colonialism.

Speaking of the meeting of modern Europe with Africa, the meeting of a people with a new morality of post-feudal era with those of patriarchal and semi-feudal ideas, Cabral says: "The basic strength of Portuguese colonialism ... lies, and has always lain, in its moral and physical propensity for repressive practices, based on an absolute refusal to regard the African as a human being."¹⁷

He then goes back into history to recall the weaponry of repression and traces it up to his own time: "The canon and other firearms of the era of discovery and conquest ... the whip, the pistol, the modern rifle, the machine gun, the mortar, bombs of all kinds, including napalm bombs and torture are the instruments of that strength. The navigators and mariners of former days, the mercenaries, the Captains General ... the administrators the Governors, the modern colonial troops ... and the political police are its agents."¹⁸

He further goes back to history and says: "It will suffice to recall that from the time of the slave hunts until the massacres of today, the people of Guinea have been the constant victims of these crimes."¹⁹ To this effect his examples are:

- a) More than a million Africans were carried off by the slave traders from the Guinea region;
- b) Tens of thousands of Africans in Guinea were killed in the colonial wars of conquest and of occupations.²⁰

On another occasion Cabral described imperialism in a wider time perspective, when he said:

"Today, as yesterday, the Portuguese in Guinea are imbued with the same spirit in which, from the Middle Ages until our times, they practiced the slave trade; the spirit in which they engaged in their cruel wars of conquest and occupation, in which they built up and organized, down to the smallest detail, the colonial exploitation of the country's human and natural resources, and which at present motivates the prevalent economic, police and military repression and furnishes the threat of a new colonial war.... It is that spirit, which is a historical development of the Middle Ages, which determines and shapes Portugal's colonial legislation and methods."²¹

Such violent international contact distorts internal development and arrests the natural course of history. Cabral challenges some mistaken views in saying: "There is a preconception held by many people, even on the left, that imperialism made us enter history at the moment when it began its adventure in our countries. This perception must be denounced We consider that when imperialism arrived in Guinea it made us leave history - our own history."²²

On the same ground, he considers colonialism as "the paralysis or deviation or even the halting of the history of one people in favour of the acceleration of the historical development of other peoples."²³

He also discusses how colonialism caused degeneration to the internal social structures when he spoke of "the progressive loss of prestige of the ruling native classes or sectors"²⁴ that turned into just tools, and "forced or voluntary"²⁵ urban exodus - without sufficient socio-economic rationale.

After speaking of African backwardness in material development, he acknowledges other elements, which again prompts his reference to history; he says, "but we do have our own hearts, our own heads, our own history. It is this history which the colonialists have taken from us. The colonialists usually say that it was they who brought us into history; today we show them that this is not so. They made us leave history.... Today, in taking up arms to liberate ourselves ... we want to return to our history, on our own feet, by our own means and through our own sacrifices."²⁶

Past history makes Cabral extremely optimistic about future success.

As regards the development of society, Cabral's view reveals his Marxist influence. However, while the strictly Marxist interpretation summarized the stages as "The primitive-communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and communist"²⁷, Cabral suggests only three stages which probably adopted for a situation like that of Guinea, he calls a) the communal agricultural and cattle-raising

society; b) the feudal or assimilated agricultural or agro-industrial bourgeois societies and c) the socialist or communist societies.²⁸ Such interpretation of historical socio-economic formation gives Cabral hope and encouragement about the future of his own society. He believes a 'jump' over stages is possible, depending on the possibilities of development of the society's "productive forces" and "the nature of the political power ruling the society...." Such a by-passing is seen as a possibility through "creation of socialist states."²⁹

"Thus we see", says Cabral, "that our peoples have their own history regardless of the stage of their economic development. When they were subjugated to imperialist domination, the historical process of each of our peoples ... was subjected to the violent action of an external factor."³⁰

5.2.1.3 The International Link

Of all the influences Africa has experienced in its history, be it the Middle Eastern or Asian, Europe remains decisive. In particular, the direction of African economic and political development cannot be seen in isolation from the development of modern Europe.

The above discussion has already hinted at the way Cabral perceives the process that has linked Portugal and his country, Guinea, from the perspective of internal development. The following discussion concerns his understanding of this outside influence in a wider interpretive framework as seen mainly from an international perspective.

In his analysis of imperialism, Cabral falls under Leninist theoretical influence. Lenin linked imperialism to the development of monopoly capitalism, where it becomes inevitable that capitalists search for wider markets in order to sell their industrial products and obtain cheap raw materials.³¹

Imperialism is, says Cabral, "a worldwide expression of the search for profits and the ever-increasing accumulation of surplus value by monopoly financial capital, centered in two parts of the world, first in Europe, and then in North America."³²

He also sees its main characteristic as a "violent usurpation of the freedom of the process of development of the productive forces of the dominated socio-economic whole."³³

In particular, considering the matter from African coastal experience, he sees imperialism as "piratry transplanted from the seas to dry land, piratry reorganized, consolidated and adapted to the aim of exploiting the natural and human resources of our peoples."³⁴ Hence, imperialism's motive force is

economic gain.

In Cabral's thought imperialist domination appears in two forms. The first is "direct domination, by means of a political power made up of people foreign to the dominated people ... this is generally called classical colonialism or colonialism."³⁵ The second, he says, "is indirect domination, by a political power made up mainly or completely of native agents; this is called neo-colonialism."³⁶

Such interpretation is one of the elements that categorize Cabral as a revolutionary thinker. As we will see later on, he does not consider mere political independence authentic. He speaks of independence beyond political independence, which means further disengagement from the metropolitan exploitative links with the aim of equitable and diversified relations.

In neo-colonialism he notes, "the imperialist action takes the form of creating a local bourgeoisie or pseudo-bourgeoisie, controlled by the ruling class of the dominating country."³⁷

Neo-colonialism has the marked effect of creating the growth of local privileged groups and a somewhat higher level of productive forces. This "creates the illusion that the historical process is returning to its normal evolution." This illusion, he says, is fed by the existence of a national state which is led by native elements.

The historical process he is talking about may be that evolution experienced in the industrialized world - that of moving from an agrarian-feudal stage to industrialization. As experience in the post-independence African countries witnessed, at the dawn of independence there was a marked euphoria and the strong belief among nationalists that political independence would bring immediate industrialization and prosperity. The passage of time, however, has dampened such hopes.

Some thinkers believe that their country will industrialize through sustained links with imperialism, but analysts of Cabral's conviction would call such a situation 'non-independence', resulting from the neo-colonial relationships of economic domination that are still maintained with the metropolis. In fact, Cabral states, "the principal aspect of national liberation struggle is the struggle against neo-colonialism."³⁸

Cabral finds a common interest in the capitalist world for the exploitation of the dominated areas. In fact, he did not believe that Portugal, as poor as it had been, could keep its African colonies if it did not get full assistance from major Western countries. On one occasion Cabral said:

"It is our duty to stress the international character of the Portuguese colonial war against Africa and the important, and even decisive role played by the USA and Federal Germany in pursuing this war."³⁹ He attacked the whole of NATO alliance for their material support to Portugal.

Cabral views colonialism in an organic relation to historical development in the West. He notes, "when speaking of Portuguese colonialism, we should not isolate it from the totality of the other phenomena which have characterized the life of humanity since the industrial revolution, from the rise of capitalism to the second World War."⁴⁰

In the tradition of Leninist interpretation Cabral sees imperialism as "the last phase in the evolution of capitalism."⁴¹ He considers the rise of the socialist bloc as the first major blow to imperialism.

However, according to Cabral, the most formidable force yet to appear against imperialism is the wave of liberation movements. To this effect, Cabral asserts that "even more than the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the antagonism between these countries and the socialist world, the liberation struggle of the colonial people is the essential characteristic, and we would say the prime motive force, of the advance of history in our times."⁴²

With this assertion, Cabral links the struggle in his own country against Portugal to worldwide processes, and calls upon an internationalist duty of the Socialist world, saying: "A socialist camp has arisen in the world. This has radically changed the balance of power, and this socialist camp is today showing itself fully conscious of its duties, international and historic, but not moral, since the peoples of the socialist countries have never exploited the colonial peoples."⁴³

5.2.2 Values and Goals

5.2.2.1 The Desired and Rejected Values

The values and moral premises that are necessary for motivating, mobilizing and sustaining the human commitment to the process of changing the existing society, also implied in the foregoing discussion of Cabral's thought, can be discerned in the following sets of concepts. Freedom and human rights, and justice and equality. Cabral also speaks of "peace, happiness and progress."⁴⁴

Freedom for people who live under colonial rule is a quest of utmost urgency. In Cabral's thought, also, freedom from foreign domination or independence

and human rights appear as basic necessities for any progress. Therefore, expressing in simple terms what people desire and do not desire, he says, "love of freedom and hatred of foreign rule."

He further states: "The people of Guinea love peace and freedom and wish to put an end to the misery, the suffering, the state of ignorance and the trepidation in which they live ... aspire freedom and wish to achieve progress and happiness in peace."⁴⁵

Cabral also speaks of the problem of human rights. "We are fighting" he says, "because we have to in order to win our human rights, our rights as a nation, as an African people that wants its independence."⁴⁶

He further argues: "Wounded in their human dignity, deprived of any legal personality, they have never let slip any opportunity to manifest their non-acceptance of aversion for and resistance to the 'Portuguese presence' in Guinea." ⁴⁷

'Freedom' is a broad concept, desired and discussed by claimants of varied interests. As so many have demanded and spoken about freedom, the concept is not new in Cabral. Freedom or liberty is a central issue in the wake of the liberal ideology that shattered the medieval status quo, and monarchical absolutism. Both as a political and economic concept, it has played a revolutionizing role in human history.

However, in its traditional usage freedom or liberty has basically an individualistic and legalistic orientation. In Cabral freedom is demanded for the collectivity; thus it is more than a legal adjustment. As such, he is suspicious of, for example, legally arranged decolonization. This is precisely where his understanding of imperialism or colonialism and neo-colonialism comes in. He speaks of a "truly independent and progressive"⁴⁸ society, a society freed from both colonialism and neo-colonialism. This is also what he understands by progress. Summing up the same argument Cabral says, "It is often said that national liberation is based on the right of every people to freely control its own destiny and that the objective of this liberation is national independence. Although we do not disagree with this vague and subjective way of expressing a complex reality, we prefer to be objective, since for us the basis of national liberation ... is the invaluable right of every people to have its own history, and the objective of national liberation is to regain their right usurped by imperialism ... to free the process of development of the national productive forces."⁴⁹

The second combination of values concerns justice and equality. Once in an

interview Cabral stated, "We have a basic principle the defence of just causes. We are in favour of justice, human progress, the freedom of the people."⁵⁰

Justice does not come out as an appendage to the other values. Neither is it merely a demand for legal recognition. It is concrete and essential for Cabral that justice be translated in socio-economic terms. To this effect he says, "exploitation of man by man is the biggest obstacle in the way of the development and progress of a people beyond national liberation."⁵¹

This view is also engraved in the Party's Program of the PAIGC. Here one speaks of "Progressive elimination of exploitation of man by man of all forms of subordination of the human individual to degrading interests, to the profits of the individuals, groups or classes."⁵²

Freedom or national independence is not seen as an end in itself. It is rather treated as a decisive condition and part of a process on the way to human progress and happiness. Justice and equality are to govern life beyond independence.

5.2.2.2 Goals or Future Society Envisaged

5.2.2.2.1 Political Goals

Independence or gaining sovereignty is the obvious political goal of a liberation movement. In Cabral also this is the immediate aspiration and demand. This aspiration is, one way or the other, reiterated on every occasion he spoke of the situation of his country. This can be summed up as the "right to self-determination and national independence."⁵³

The concept of independence in Cabral is consistently connected to his understanding and analysis of imperialism. As imperialism appears at least in two forms, as we saw above, independence has to be considered on the two corresponding levels. The first level is achieved when legal arrangements are made for handing over of colonial offices from the foreign personnel to the local functionaries, but which does not fundamentally affect the existing relations with the colonizing country or internal socio-economic structures. This was experienced mainly in British and French Africa during the decolonization of the 1960's. Cabral had the advantage of witnessing its outcome.

The second level deals with the phenomenon 'neo-colonialism', where revolutionary economic and socio-political changes are seen as the strides toward independence. Cabral calls the first type "fictitious" and the second level "true".

Based on such understanding, Cabral spoke of his own peoples' particular struggle, saying, "We are fighting for the complete liberation of our peoples, but we are not fighting simply in order to hoist a flag in our countries and to have a national anthem."⁵⁴ Speaking of 'decolonization', he asserts that "several peoples have seen their aspirations confounded by a nominal independence."⁵⁵

For Cabral liberation struggle goes beyond political independence. "While the struggle for national independence is our main concern", he says, "we should nevertheless envisage, beyond the liberation struggle, the problem of the future of our peoples, of their economic, social and cultural evolution or the road to progress."⁵⁶

Cabral saw serious weaknesses in the newly independent continents. Particular occasions forced him to assess the state of the post-colonial politics in Africa and Latin America. Speaking of the African continent he contended, "The positive balance-sheet of the year 1960 cannot make us forget the reality of a crisis in the African revolution which far from being a mere growing pain, is a crisis of knowledge. In several cases, the practice of the liberation struggle and its future perspectives not only lack a theoretical basis, but are also to a greater or lesser degree remote from the concrete reality around them."⁵⁷

Cabral's view of the independence of Latin America is also utterly gloomy. He says, "The independence of the peoples of Latin America never enjoyed true independence. Governments were created that were completely submissive to imperialism, in particular to US imperialism."⁵⁸ He simply sees a change of hands, whereby Latin American people who had been under the Spanish and Portuguese subjection: "passed over to the imperialist yoke in spite of having their own governments - that is, a fictitious political independence."⁵⁹

In the government of a developing polity, the role of the petty-bourgeoisie is seen as decisive by Cabral. This, as we see below, is based on a class analysis of these societies. When the national liberation comes, it is the existing petty bourgeoisie that takes over the colonial political and bureaucratic machinery. At this moment, Cabral says, we "return to history, and thus the internal contradictions break out again."⁶⁰

This should mean that "people on the left will call for the revolution, the right will call for the 'non-revolution', i.e. a capitalist road or something like that."⁶¹

The petty bourgeoisie casts its lot at this juncture. In Cabral's words, it can "either ally with imperialism and the reactionary strata in its own country", or "with the workers and peasants, who must themselves take power or control to make the revolution."⁶²

The Cuban example and the role of Fidel Castro in refusing compromise with the US, are mentioned to show how a particular petty bourgeoisie can opt for a revolution on the side of workers and peasants.⁶³ In his speech to Tricontinental Conference of 1966 in Havana, Cabral declared that the Cuban experience "constitutes a particular lesson for the national liberation movements, especially for those who want their national revolution to be a true one."⁶⁴ He further expressed his admiration for the "new, just and multi-racial society",⁶⁵ he found in Cuba.

In foreign relations, Cabral advocates a policy which first and foremost defends the interests of the African people and also that of all humanity.⁶⁶ He upholds "nonalignment", but sees his movement as part of a vast anti-imperialist front of waging struggle all over the world. In this struggle he sees the socialist world allied with the liberation movement, as, he says, "it is our duty to state, loud and clear, that we have firm allies in the socialist countries."⁶⁷

He also makes it clear that liberation struggle against the ruling colonial forces does not necessarily mean hatred of the people in the colonizing countries, rather there can be cooperation with such people after liberation on the basis of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty.

5.2.2.2 Economic Goals

Although he has not written much on the economic aspect of liberation, it is not difficult to see that Cabral, as he subscribes to and strongly holds the Leninist view of imperialism, gives economics its due importance. He considers economic independence to be essential to genuine liberation from neo-colonialism.

As it was true on many other occasions where he discussed liberation, it was economic independence which was stressed by Cabral when he foresaw the dawning of liberation in Guinea. "At present", he said, "the first difficulty - that of winning political autonomy - has already been overcome, despite the remnant of a few zones of classical colonialism whose days are numbered; the greatest difficulties concern the winning of economic independence, the struggle against neo-colonialism."⁶⁸

Economic domination is seen as the source of other types of domination and lack of progress. To this effect Cabral stated, "let us be precise: for us, African revolution means the transformation of our present life in the direction of progress. The prerequisite for this is the elimination of foreign economic domination, on which every other type of domination is dependent."⁶⁹

As also made clear in his discussion of values or principles, Cabral's liberated society is one which must be free from economic exploitation of all sorts. Speaking on the matter to an inter-African group he said, "martyred and scorned for centuries, so that our peoples may never more be exploited by imperialists - not only by Europeans with white skin, because we do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the colour of men's skins; we do not want any exploitation in our countries not even by black people"⁷⁰

The PAIGC Program also reflects the goal of the elimination of exploitation, as is indicated in paragraph VI under the heading "Economic independence, structuring the economy and developing production." Paragraphs 1 to 3 in part stipulate:

- 1 Elimination of all relationships of a colonialist and imperialist nature. Winning of independence in Guinea and the Cabo Verde Islands.
- 2 Planning and harmonious development of the economy. Economic activity will be governed by the principles of democratic centralism.
- 3 Four types of property: State, cooperative, private and personal.⁷¹

"Private exploitation will be allowed to develop according to the needs of progress, on the condition that it is useful in the rapid development of the economy..."⁷²

Cabral is very optimistic about the future. Both in politics and economics, once the anti-imperialist battle is won people will be steered on to the course of their own history, progress shall then be automatic. While such optimism is understandable, as such a thinker tends to depend basically on the capacity and will of the politically conscious masses for progress, it tends to overlook the economic problems a poor country confronts. In particular, the revolutionary course opted for tends to produce opposition internally and internationally, which can result in sabotage and blockades. Financial problems confronted in the attempt to lay an infrastructural base, the problems related to lack of proper markets and skilled manpower are some of the hazards to be considered. While Cabral carefully diagnoses the existing

malaise and charts an attractive course for the desired system, he fails to discuss the problems practical application is bound to attract, and to suggest ways out of such difficulties.

5.2.2.2.3 Socio-Cultural Goals

The issue of culture, which occupies an essential place in the thought of many other African thinkers, does not bother Cabral to any dramatic extent. This obviously is due to his orientation of interpreting cultural phenomenon as an integral part of the economic substructure. He sees culture in connection to a given socio-economic formation.

He views imperialism, for example, as impediment to a people's artistic and cultural development. He notes "the imperialist and the colonialist must be forced to retreat so that we can make a new contribution to human civilization, based on the work, the dynamic personality and the culture of our peoples."⁷³

For Cabral, culture is not absolute and can embody elements which can hinder the advancement of the very people that uphold it. He advocated weeding out such harmful practices peacefully and developing a progressive culture. To this effect he said, "Oppose without violence all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people. Oblige every responsible and educated member of our Party to work daily for the improvement of their cultural formation."⁷⁴

To raise peoples' socio-cultural level and to revitalize their talents, the PAIGC programme advocated educational improvements by way of the elimination of illiteracy, developing secondary and technical education, the creation of university education and scientific and technical institutes.⁷⁵

As regards the cultures of various ethnic groupings in the country, the favouring of certain groups against others is to be avoided. "Development of the culture of the various ethnic groups" is envisaged.

Cabral and his Party viewed culture as a universal human contribution. Such a view negates an ethnocentric interpretation of culture which tries to make civilization into the monopoly of one region, or a particular racial entity. The party programme envisages "Utilization of all the values and advances of human and universal culture in the service of the progress of the peoples of Guinea and Cabo Verde. Contribution by the culture of these peoples to the progress of humanity in general."⁷⁶

5.2.3 Means

5.2.3.1 Orientation

For Cabral, society is divided in accordance with class interests based on a particular mode of production and level of socio-economic development. The solution to the contradictions inherent in the colonial state he advocated was revolution. Although there existed humiliating foreign domination, he did not view the society of Guinea Bissau as united against the colonial enemy. His class analytical approach enabled him to discern the internal forces that would, due to their position in the colonial state, line up with this enemy. These could be distinguished from those who could be interested in the liquidation of foreign domination. As such, his strategy and tactics are definitely influenced by various aspects of revolutionary thought especially of Marxian origin, as we shall see later.

Cabral seems to have been pushed into armed struggle by the force of circumstance. Like most of the other African anticolonial thinkers in 1950's, he sought independence for his country through peaceful means. However, the intransigence of the Portuguese⁷⁷ and their confrontation with the peaceful movement through violence, were the evident causes of his disillusionment. He saw that negotiated settlement, be it through national effort or those of international organizations, was not attainable.

Even if these were to be obtained, as those in many other countries he lost faith in the effectivity of the non-revolutionary approach for creating genuine independence. Thus, his option was for armed struggle and revolution.

The non-revolutionary decolonization process experienced by most of the former African colonies, was for him a preemptive maneuver by imperialism to halt socialist expansion, and in his own words, it was "to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were being stifled by colonialism and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international bourgeoisie."⁷⁸

Although Cabral was open to legal arrangements, his commitment to the revolutionary practice of armed struggle grew to be total. He declared the only effective way of definitively fulfilling the aspirations of the peoples, that is to say of attaining liberation, is by "armed struggle."⁷⁹

He was by no means for reform or refurbishing the colonial bureaucratic apparatus. On the contrary, he forwards a militant call, saying: "Let us go forward and destroy him and liberate our country...."⁸⁰

Cabral was not a racist but, as he repeatedly put it, he was against the fascist colonial power and its class base in Portugal. He often expressed solidarity with the 'masses' in Portugal, and counted on their mutual support in undermining the strength of the fascist regime.

Nor was he revanchist, for he looked forward to the day when complete cooperation on the basis of equality would be experienced between the peoples of Portugal and Guinea Bissau. He also disdained terrorist action against the Portuguese civilians in the urban areas.

Yet, Cabral was for a revolutionary armed struggle and complete destruction of the imperialist power structure, replacing it by popular political structures through which internal dynamic socio-economic development could be experienced.

5.2.3.2 Implementation

5.2.3.2.1 Assessment of Problem and Theoretical Stance

Amilcar Cabral is a person oriented to practical actions, yet imbued with theoretical width and depth. Being one of the few educated nationals, he had the possibility to serve the colonial administration in Guinea. This enabled him to transcend his localist limitations and to think in terms of the whole nation.

Before launching the long drawn-out struggle for liberation, he made a thorough study of his country. As Richard Handyside says, "From 1952 to 1953, Cabral had visited every corner of his country, preparing an agricultural census for the colonial administration, and in the process acquiring a detailed knowledge of his people and their situation."⁸¹

From this one can see that Cabral was not just an intellectual analyst who theorizes from his comfortable academic ghetto. He knew his society, its predicament, its enemy and his strength. He could relate phenomena to national and international levels.

Nonetheless, Cabral was of the strong conviction that theory was necessary if there should be effective struggle and liberation.

One occasion afforded him the opportunity to enunciate this conviction, remarked "nobody has yet made a successful revolution without a revolutionary theory."⁸² It does not seem accidental that this view coincides with that of Lenin, who wrote "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement."⁸³

With these various experiences behind him, Cabral saw the lack of theory as a mistake of gravest consequences: "The ideological deficiency, not to say the total lack of ideology, within the national liberation movements - which is basically due to ignorance of the historical reality which these movements claim to transform - constitutes one of the greatest weaknesses of our struggle against imperialism, if not the greatest weakness of all."⁸⁴

To correct such weakness, he recommends defining "a general line of thoughts and action with the aim of eliminating this deficiency."⁸⁵

The general line of thought which Cabral entertains for his own struggle falls within the sphere of socialist thinking. In his analysis of society, he follows the theory of class struggle.

Cabral considers the analysis of the class composition of a society as strategically essential, saying, it is "the basis for ... struggle for national liberation."⁸⁶

Such an approach is not just an academic exercise, but has clear strategic utility. Each class so identified has a role to play in the political movement; this role can be negative or positive. For this, Cabral suggests first "the position of each group must be defined - to what extent and in what way does each group depend on the colonial regime? Next we have to see what position they adopt towards the national liberation struggle. Then we have to study their nationalist capacity and lastly envisaging the post-independence period, their revolutionary capacity."⁸⁷

As mentioned earlier, Cabral considers three stages of development. These are, as he says, the Communal agricultural and cattle raising, in which the social structure is horizontal, without class and state; the second is feudal, or assimilated agricultural or agro-industrial bourgeois societies, characterized by a vertical social structure; the third is socialist or communist industrial, with the diminishing tendency of the state while social structure returning to horizontality.⁸⁸

He accepts that class struggle is the motive force of history, but rejects any notions that societies without class struggle are outside history. Hence he asserts, "if class struggle is the motive force of history, it is so only in a specific historical period."⁸⁹

According to Cabral's class analysis, in Guinea stratification in rural areas varied from semi-feudal to groups without any defined form of state organization.

In the semi-feudal, rural setting, the chiefs, the nobles and the religious figures formed one group, followed by artisans and traders. The peasantry was the bulk of the population.

In economic terms, Cabral says, certain traditions concerning collective ownership existed, but "the chiefs and their entourages have retained considerable privileges as regards ownership of land and the utilization of other people's labour."⁹⁰ And the peasants were exploited by the chiefs. However, because of foreign domination and the lower level of productive forces, the dominating class was not a wealthy feudal aristocracy, but rather a subservient colonial group.

Cabral also discerned few farm owners on an intermediate level. But in Guinea there were no European settlers in countryside, who owned huge plantations like in many other colonies.

In the urban areas, below the European administrative and commercial bourgeoisie, was the African petty bourgeoisie. In this group are included higher and middle officials, petty officials employed in commerce with contract, and small farm owners.⁹¹

Next came the wage-earners, who would hold the place of 'proletariat' if higher industrial development were realized, as it is, Cabral is cautious about calling them a proletariat. Such included porters, servants, dockworkers, workers in repair shops and small factories.

After this came the 'declasses', such as beggars, prostitutes etc., those who could be categorized as lumpen-proletariat.

Having classified the population according to definite places in the socio-economic and political complex, Cabral assesses the role of each class or group in the revolutionary process.

In rural areas, he finds the chiefs tied to the Portuguese authorities and artisans tied to the chiefs. Itinerant traders, though some of them were utilized as agents against the enemy, were seen as tied to personal profit. The peasantry was counted as "the group with the greatest interest in the struggle."⁹²

In towns, the Europeans with the exception of some petty bourgeois elements, were seen as hostile to the ideas of liberation.

Among the African petty-bourgeoisie, three sub-groups appear:

- a) higher officials and some members of the liberal arts who were committed to colonialism.

- b) The wavering uncommitted group.
- c) The elements who were for the liberation, but whom Cabral is cautious about calling them revolutionary; this group was nationalist and the source of the idea of a liberation struggle in Guinea.⁹³

Among the wage-earners the majority were committed to the liberation struggle, though some were difficult to convince.

The declassé in general were seen as the most dangerous, ready for use by police as informers. Perhaps unconsciously, says Cabral, these elements were against liberation.

However, there is a special group of people whom Cabral found to be initially the most useful in the liberation process. These are the new comers to the towns - people with rural and town links affiliated to petty bourgeoisie families. Such people possess knowledge about the life in towns and countryside and prove to be "extremely dynamic in the struggle."⁹⁴

However, for Cabral, struggle follows the prioritization of contradictions, and the uniting of forces according to such contradictions, which means forming a wider front against the major contradiction.⁹⁵

The major contradiction current to his situation was between, as he put it, "the Portuguese and international bourgeoisie" and "the interests of our people."⁹⁶ He further states, "We must try to unite everybody in the national liberation struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, this is where our main contradiction lies ..."⁹⁷

He stressed the need for preparation for later contradictions, also here - the party was seen as the remedy. Upon liberation, or the solution to the prime contradiction, next contradiction looms between the ruling classes and the ruled, the chiefs and the peasants, collective and private ownership. Hence, struggle takes a national form as people return to history.⁹⁸

From here other secondary contradictions like those between the ethnic groups remain present, but these he sees as feeble.

It is also essential to see how Cabral assessed the implications of the liberation struggle on the international level, and how the different forces polarize. He accused the Western powers repeatedly for assisting Portugal in its war in Africa. He did not see, however, this assistance as a phenomenon isolated from the general interest of the bourgeoisie which had a stake in imperialism.

Subjecting the issue to a class interpretation, he counts on the solidarity of the working class and revolutionary elements, even in Portugal itself. While attacking the 'fascist' ruling class, he paid tribute to the Portuguese people.⁹⁹ He called upon the oppressed people, the educated circles and in particular the progressive democrats "to destroy the virulent remains of the colonialist, enslaving ideology."¹⁰⁰

He saw a possibility for solidarity between the masses in Portugal and Guinea, capitalizing on fascism as their common enemy. However, looking at the matter more broadly, he doubted if it were ever possible "to forge closer relations between the peasantry in Guinea and the working movement in Europe."¹⁰¹ He then accuses imperialism of "trying simultaneously to dominate the working class in all the advanced countries and smother the national liberation movements in all the underdeveloped countries."¹⁰²

In spite of his optimism about the inevitable victory of the struggling oppressed people, Cabral's picture of the general international situation was gloomy. The following points sum up the cause for his pessimism.¹⁰³

- The neo-colonial situation of a great number of states including the newly independent ones.
- The progress made by neo-capitalism, particularly in Europe, where imperialism in adopting preferential investments, encourages the development of a privileged proletariat, thus lowering the revolutionary level of the working classes.
- The open or concealed neo-colonial position of some European states.
- The policy of 'aid for underdeveloped countries' adopted by imperialism with the aim of creating or reinforcing native pseudo-bourgeoisie - thus creating dependence and obstructing revolution.
- Revolutionary timidity which has led some recently independent states with favourable internal situation to accept compromises.
- The growing contradictions between anti-imperialist states.
- The threat posed to world peace by the prospect of atomic war on the part of imperialism.

Amilcar Cabral, adopting a theoretical line of thought which enabled him to analyze his society and the international situation in the light of the set goals aimed at mobilizing actual or potential forces, proceeds to the organization and launching of the struggle. The following discussion will attempt to present this process.

5.2.3.2.2 Organizational Strategy

Theory, among other things, offers a framework for organizing and utilizing the available human and material resources for the achievement of the goals set. When it comes to practice, theory will not have much effect without organization.

Amílcar Cabral shows the centrality of organization in the struggle for independence. The main organization which preceded other (state) organizations is the Party, and its armed wing which conducted the guerilla war. The aim was, as it has been described earlier, the "Total elimination of the colonial administrative structure and establishment of a national and democratic structure for the internal administration of the country."¹⁰⁴ Hence, the discussion here will concentrate on party and guerilla aspects, which are the prime instruments for the realization of independence.

As Cabral sees it one of the basic and indispensable elements in the liberation process is "the creation of a firmly united vanguard, conscious of the true meaning and objective of the national liberation struggle which it must lead."¹⁰⁵ However, he acknowledges the lack of the vanguard class because of the embryonic level of the working masses, and the lack of consciousness due to the lower level of socio-economic development. However, as he sees it, "the colonial situation neither permits nor needs the existence of significant vanguard classes (working class conscious of its existence and rural proletariat), which could ensure the vigilance of the popular masses over the evolution of the liberation movement."¹⁰⁶

Such a vanguard would know the true meaning of liberation, and could lead the country to independence and progress. Stressing the point, Cabral says, "Only a revolutionary vanguard, generally an active minority, can be aware of this distinction from the start and make it known, through the struggle, to the popular masses."¹⁰⁷

Cabral's idea of active minority and the need for an organization by this minority, coincides with Lenin's "wise men" or "professional revolutionaries."¹⁰⁸ But it is obvious that Cabral's PAIGC was not Lenin's Bolsheviks - it was not a Communist party.

Speaking of the role and focality of such organization in a revolution, Lenin asserts "that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders maintaining continuity."¹⁰⁹ He also states that the more the movement widens its mass base the more solid the organization must be.

Speaking of the membership, he says, "such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity."¹¹⁰ In particular, in autocratic states in order to make it difficult "to unearth the organization", he recommends confinement of membership to professional revolutionaries, who are also professionally trained "in the art of combating the political police."¹¹¹

The attempts of organized activities by people in Guinea to attain peacefully their independence began in 1953. This movement was mainly composed of civil servants and business employees of the towns fueled by the new "re-Africanization" spirit of African students in Portugal. An organization known as the "Movement for the National Independence of Guinea, MINIG" was founded. However, its attempts did not achieve much success.

Speaking of the circumstances that prompted the creation of a more dynamic movement, Cabral says:

"In 1956, all attempts at lawful action having failed and because of the weakness of the MINIG, this same group of Africans, together with several craftsmen and manual workers, decided to create a clandestine organization of the political party type to carry on the struggle for national liberation. Thus was born, in September of that year, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verda (PAIGC) the central organization of the peoples of those colonies in the struggle for national liberation."¹¹²

The activities of the organization were mainly confined to the urban areas and to industrial actions and negotiations. However, the early 1960's brought an important change in the theoretical and practical life of the organization. This change was necessitated by the setbacks suffered during late 1950's, highlighted by the 1959 Pijiguiti massacre of demonstrators by the Portuguese forces.¹¹³

In order to detect the sources of the critical decision which resulted in the 1963 change of tactic by PAIGC to launch armed struggle from the rural areas, it is useful to look at the following personal narrative of Cabral.

"At that time the party knew nothing of what was happening in the world, and we had to progress on an empirical bases. Our lack of experience made us think that we could fight in the cities with strikes and so on, but we were wrong and the reality of that moment showed us that this was impossible."¹¹⁴

Hence with this change, the party organization was made fit for struggle

from the rural areas as well, and for this the experience of other revolutions was to be studied. The PAIGC as the central organization was to play the role of a prime-mover in organizing and leading the armed struggle step by step.

The Party political and administrative organization was structured in such a way that it covered the whole country, both rural and urban regions. The country was divided into various administrative categories starting from the village and up to the national level.

5.2.3.2.3 The Guerilla Struggle

So far it is clear that Cabral and his compatriots, exhausting all the peaceful means, resorted to armed struggle launched from the rural areas where the domination of the enemy was at its weakest. For Cabral, guerilla war appears as part of a long range process in the struggle of a population for true politico-economic and social progress; politics is to control the gun. The guerilla is the servant of the Party. For this purpose, Cabral says, "the Party leaders were at the same time the guerilla leaders."¹¹⁵ Stressing this again, he said, "I want to emphasize that the leadership of the struggle is the leadership of the Party."¹¹⁶

This concern, among other things, indicates that armed struggle is not pursued for its own sake or for militarist romanticism. Secondly, it underlines the assumption that a party armed with a theory about the total development of the society and representing the aspirations of the majority of the people, must be entitled to guide the struggle.

"Oppose tendencies to militarism and make each fighter an exemplary militant of our Party",¹¹⁷ was one of Cabral's instructions. He also exhorted Party workers to "Develop political work in ... armed forces, whether regular or guerilla."¹¹⁸

Politics preceded arms in the process of struggle. "We established our guerilla bases", he says, "before the armed struggle began."¹¹⁹ He repeatedly stressed the need for engaging in "developing production, education, health facilities and trade in ... liberated areas."¹²⁰

Besides the long range objective of political liberation, Cabral saw struggle as a process fulfilling some immediate integrative and psychological functions. These include: the creation of unity among different ethnic and regional groups; developing and increasing national consciousness; overcoming the complexes engendered by colonial exploitation and recovering the African personality.

Amílcar Cabral has occasionally acknowledged the usefulness of experiences in countries such as China, Cuba and Vietnam. He was in touch with the writings of some revolutionaries. In particular, Guevara's book in guerilla struggle seems to be favoured.¹²¹

However, he says, "this book, for example, like other documents on the guerilla struggle ... served us as a basis of general experience for our own struggle."¹²² This means that the book was not followed as any particular dogma. However, he highly valued the general experience of the Cuban Revolution and its gains. He also expressed that with his compatriots, he followed "with great interest the development of new guerilla foci in Latin America."¹²³ He hoped for further growth and determination for them. Then, as usual, he stressed the independence for each people to adopt the struggle which suited each situation.¹²⁴

Cabral and Guevara struggling under qualitatively different conditions, differed in their stress on such issues as the role of theory, the primacy of party over guerilla and the degree of integration of the guerilla struggle and the masses.

For example Guevara said: "With some theoretical knowledge as a base and a profound understanding of reality, it was possible to create a revolutionary theory with the passing of time."¹²⁵

The guerilla force too appears as more independent and in a vanguard role but needs "popular support."¹²⁶ The "guerilla and inhabitants cooperate closely"¹²⁷ in an ideal situation.

In Cabral theoretical clarity is essential and the guerilla force is subordinated to the party. It is kept alive by the people as "a fish in the water."¹²⁸

In order to appreciate the difference in their approach, it is essential to see some aspects of the varying conditions in which both of the thinkers struggled. Unlike Cabral's Guinea Bissau, the Cuban situation was one with much more developed productive forces, but suffocating under US imperialism and internal dictatorial control. In Cuba the masses had a long experience of revolutionary uprising. There also existed "a militant and dedicated detachment of ... Communists" but who previously had been politically isolated. "The Marxist-Leninist Party" Castro said, "had neither the means, nor the strength, nor the required national and international conditions to carry out an armed insurrection."¹²⁹

Considering the situation at the juncture before the inception of the armed struggle, he said, "when the objective conditions for revolution exist, certain subjective factors can play an important role in the events."¹³⁰

It was in such a situation that a nucleus of guerilla combatants were organized outside the existing party structures and successfully conducted a mass revolutionary war. Guevara sums up the lessons of the Cuban experience in the following order.¹³¹

- 1) Popular forces can win a war against the army.
- 2) It is not necessary to wait until all conditions for making revolution exist; the insurrection can create them.
- 3) In underdeveloped America the countryside is the basic area for armed fighting.

In particular the second proposition which is fairly controversial is modified by Guevara through the following statement: "It must always be kept in mind that there is a necessary minimum without which the establishment and consolidation of the first center is not practicable. People must see clearly the futility of maintaining the fight for social goals within the framework of civil debate."¹³²

In theory too such "minimum" seems to have existed among the guerilla combatants, mainly among their "main leaders".¹³³

Cabral agrees with Guevara that vanguard is necessary for a revolution, but this does not necessarily mean a communist party. However, his conditions of struggle demanded that he subjected the guerilla to the party.¹³⁴

5.2.3.2.4 The Human Element

Like any revolutionary thinker, Cabral believes in the ability of man to overcome insurmountable obstacles, to fight oppression and to subjugate nature in order to build what he sees as a better future. He says "man is the strongest force in nature."¹³⁵

This view encouraged Cabral in his energetic task of liberation and made him optimistic about a future victory. For this he understood that people must be organized, guided by proper ideas, and properly equipped.

As we saw earlier in his class analysis of Guinea, those forces that can be classified as siding with the enemy or as not caring for liberation, were the chiefs, the artisans, itinerant traders in rural areas and the higher government officials of the petty bourgeoisie in the urban areas.

The classes and groups that must be counted on for the struggle are: the petty-bourgeoisie; the wage-earners (proletariat); the peasantry; a sector of new urban migrants.

1) The Petty Bourgeoisie

Amílcar Cabral acknowledges that the petty bourgeoisie historically is not a class of any importance. However, the colonial and economically backward situation of the countries in the backward areas has accorded to it a position of highest importance. It is this category, acting as a class of service, that comes to grips with the complexities of the modern world and becomes the controller of the state machinery. It is to the revolutionary section of this social category that he attributes the task of mobilizing other forces for liberation.

In Guinea also, it was first the "civilizados" or the "assimilados" who became impregnated with the idea of liberation. For Cabral, this is seen as due to the force of circumstance: "We had some knowledge of other experiences and we knew that a struggle of the kind we hoped to lead - and win - had to be led by the working class; we looked for the working class in Guinea and did not find it."¹³⁶

He notes, that they were just a group of petty bourgeoisie and they had to begin it. There were no revolutionary intellectuals.

2) The Wage Earners

The said small group did not, however, assign the task of liberation to itself alone. It tried to penetrate what workers there were to be found. First, the dockworkers and people working on the boats carrying merchandise and living in Bisau were penetrated. These gradually formed a nucleus, which Cabral saw as "highly conscious of their position and of their economic importance."¹³⁷ Such experiences continued to multiply, enabling Cabral to claim "we thus found our little proletariat."¹³⁸

3) The Peasantry

According to Cabral, the peasantry is "the group with the greatest interest in the struggle."¹³⁹ Though he gives the worker-peasant unity highest significance in the revolutionary process, he remains cautious about the actual role of the peasantry. From experience he discovered that the peasantry is a "physical force", but not a "revolutionary force."¹⁴⁰

With the exception of some animist areas, he found in most cases that it was difficult to convince the rural masses to fight. Comparing the Chinese experience with that of Guinea he says, the Chinese peasant had a history of revolt but not those of Guinea.

For this he suggests that in rural Guinea, as land had never been expro-

riated and Portuguese domination was indirect, essential slogans such as "land to the tiller" and "down with imperialism", did not have much appeal. Therefore, the organizers had to work patiently and to develop appropriate slogans and material for politicization which appealed to the people, and that gradually resulted in gaining their total support.

He notes, "we started from the concrete reality of the people ... tried to avoid having the peasant think that we were outsiders come to teach them how to do things; we put ourselves in the position of people who came to learn with the peasants, and in the end the peasants were discovering for themselves why things had gone badly for them."¹⁴¹

He further observes that to integrate the peasant masses into the struggle, one must have a great deal of patience."¹⁴²

4) New Urban Migrants

There exists one group of people who are nearer to Cabral's *déclassé* or lumpen-proletariat, whose domicile is non-stationary. These people of rural origin with petty bourgeois and worker ties in urban areas, have proven to be useful for revolutionary purposes. For the most, they do not work but live off the income of their relatives in the towns and in rural areas. They are but temporary sojourners to the urban areas. This group seems to be composed of young people with little or no education, but mobile, able to compare life in rural and urban areas, among Africans and Europeans, and, above all, speaking the various languages essential for communications.

With some political training, this group was utilized as a contact point with the rural areas, as well as helping in the politicization process. The utilization of such a group to the extent it's importance is here described, is unique to Guinea.

The Cadres

The concept cadre which is commonly used in much revolutionary literature seems to have various meanings. For Cabral, cadres consist of capable individuals recruited for special training from various sectors of the society, wage earners as well as peasants. The training is to afford them "a working class mentality."¹⁴³ These individuals are the torch-bearers of the revolution, spreading out among the masses through various establishments and charged with the task of agitation, politicization, organization and leadership of the people. They are supposed to set good examples with their dedication and vigilance.

5.2.3.2.5 Aid or Outside Assistance

Amílcar Cabral is basically a believer in self-reliance. Both for liberation and future development, internal efforts hold a central place in his thought. For him, liberation means releasing the internal socio-economic and political life of the people from centuries old imperialist fetters so that natural growth may be unfolded.

The following statement confirms his commitment to self-reliance, he declared: "A basic principle of our struggle is our counting on our own forces, our own sacrifices, our own efforts..."¹⁴⁴ This belief was basic to the actions of the party as well, which according to Cabral, "acted on the principle that liberation should be the work of the people themselves, who should rely primarily on their own resources to attain this goal."¹⁴⁵

Cabral is also a strong believer in the ability of the masses, and he proclaimed this same conviction to a wider audience of the African continent when he said, "It is our peoples who guarantee the future and the certainty of our victory." ¹⁴⁶

He expressed disenchantment with the role of international organizations, such as the UN in their efforts to liberate the colonized countries. "Although we greatly appreciate the efforts made by the United Nations and the moral and political value of its resolutions", he argues, "we have no illusions about their practical effects." ¹⁴⁷

In the same manner he is strongly suspicious of Western 'aid'. He views it as a current design of imperialism, aimed at trapping the underdeveloped world with the objective of creating "a false bourgeoisie to put a break on the revolution and to enlarge the possibilities of the petty bourgeoisie as a neutralizer of the revolution..." ¹⁴⁸

However, aid from Africa and the socialist world is welcomed as a support for the internal efforts. The justification for this is that according to Cabral, the revolution in Guinea is part of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle which in the long run is bound to benefit Africa and to safeguard the freedom of the socialist world.

He views aid by the socialist countries as their internationalist obligation, and appreciated assistance particularly in arms, medicine and the training of cadres.¹⁴⁹

Receiving such assistance does not mean importing a ready-made system from outside. For Cabral, "national liberation and social revolution are not

exportable commodities; they are ... outcome of local and national elaboration, more or less influenced by external factors ... but essentially determined and formed by historical reality of each people, and carried to success by the overcoming or correct solution of the internal contradictions...." ¹⁵⁰

As can be concluded from his writings, Cabral's order of struggle can be summed up as follows:

- a) political activity that starts among the petty-bourgeois intellectuals in urban areas, and gradually involves sectors of wage earners;
- b) later, this activity is taken to rural areas, to the peasantry who shall receive political education through simplified means in their villages;
- c) within the political framework, guerilla units are established in the base areas for armed action of ambush and sudden attacks;
- d) gradually out of the guerilla units grow the armed forces;
- e) the base areas shall be turned into liberated areas of normal productive activities which have already been intensified since the beginning of the struggle. The people's militia guards these areas, while the other forces are fighting in the contested zones;
- f) at last, enemy strongholds are destroyed and the country liberated. Cabral calls his strategy "centrifugal", starting in the center and moving towards the periphery.

The foregoing discussion makes clear that Amilcar Cabral is a revolutionary thinker whose analysis of society, interpretation of historical phenomena, and choice of means of solving the socio-political and economic problems confronting his society, are strongly influenced by the Marxist tradition. His understanding of imperialism is in line with Lenin's theory, and his solution to colonial domination made through revolutionary armed struggle and his guerilla tactics have benefited from various experiences.

However, Cabral is a cautious thinker who stresses self-reliance and the independence of each case for utilizing various tactics. He avoids dogmatism and tries to adapt carefully and yet consistently in accordance with the dictates of internal objective conditions. His approach is not one of appropriating a certain line, but as he himself put it, it is one of adapting a general line of thought.

He strongly associates himself and the struggle in Guinea with the worldwide revolutionary movement and the Socialist camp. And yet, he strongly advocates a policy of "nonalignment" as he expressed on one occasion, "it does not seem to us to be necessary to get involved in the ideological

disputes and conflicts which are splitting the world. We do not need to follow any line: our position must be and remains based on the fundamental aspirations of our peoples." ¹⁵¹

A contradiction is apparent here. On one hand, Cabral associates himself with the Socialist world, and on the other he prefers to stay out of the ideological disputes. This could be seen as a tactical choice in order not to unnecessarily expose one's movement, more than being a denial of the principles one is advocating.

Nevertheless, however consistently his line of thought has reflected Marxist influence, Cabral remains a transitional thinker. His party which at times he could not differentiate from a front, was a revolutionary organization but not a Marxist one. This he clarified himself, when he said, "We are not a Communist Party or a Marxist-Leninist Party but the people now leading the peasants in the struggle in Guinea are mostly from the urban milieu and connected with the urban wage-earning group." ¹⁵²

The development of Cabral's theoretical views and clarity of line vis-à-vis, for example, the World Communist movement, the path of his society's development, could have been more clarified, had he lived to experience the post-independence period in Guinea-Bissau. But, unfortunately, he was assassinated by his enemies before Guinea's independence in 1974.

NOTES to CHAPTER 5.2 - 5.2.3.2.5

- 1 Amílcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle* (edited and translated by Richard Handyside) (London, Stage 1, 1969) p 10.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., p 24.
- 5 Ibid., p 28.
- 6 For further description, see Lars Rudebeck, *Guinea-Bissau: A Study of Political Mobilization* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1974) p 15.
- 7 Cabral, *op.cit.*, p 18.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Ibid., p 18. See also Rudebeck, *op.cit.*, pp 15-19.
- 10 Cabral, *op.cit.*, p 108.
- 11 Ibid., p 18.
- 12 Ibid., p 116
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid., p 84.
- 15 Ibid., p 126.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p 26.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Ibid., p 24.
- 22 Ibid., p 56.
- 23 Ibid., p 62.
- 24 Ibid., pp 81-82.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., p 63.

- 27 V. Afanasyev, *op.cit.*, p 203.
- 28 Cabral, *op.cit.*, p 78. But Cabral does not refuse the Marxist periodization of history, yet he should have mentioned why he needed the modification.
- 29 *Ibid.*, p 79. However, he does not go into any detailed discussion of the process towards creating such states.
- 30 *Ibid.*
- 31 See V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works in three volumes, V. I* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), pp 692-693. For dominance of capital export see p 700.
- 32 Cabral, *op.cit.*, p 80.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p 83.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 *Ibid.*, p 81.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 *Ibid.*, p 82.
- 38 *Ibid.*, p 83.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p 101.
- 40 *Ibid.*, p 62.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p 80. See also Lenin, *op.cit.*, p 98.
- 42 Cabral, *op.cit.*, p 12. The assertion of "the prime motive force" is a discussable matter.
- 43 *Ibid.*, p 67.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p 30.
- 45 *Ibid.*, p 28.
- 46 *Ibid.*, p 110.
- 47 *Ibid.*, p 28.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p 11.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p 83.
- 50 *Ibid.*, p 120.
- 51 *Ibid.*, p 11.

- 52 See Party Program of the PAIGC, VII, a, 1. Rudebeck, op.cit., p 256.
- 53 Cabral, op.cit., p 38.
- 54 Ibid., p 65.
- 55 Ibid., p 13.
- 56 Ibid., p 15.
- 57 Ibid., pp 14-15.
- 58 Ibid., p 121.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., p 57.
- 61 Ibid. More detailed discussion on this is to be found in the next chapter.
- 62 Ibid., However, the petty-bourgeois cannot opt for or against revolution as a bloc; it has both revolutionary and reactionary wings.
- 63 Ibid., p 59
- 64 Ibid., p 73.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid., p 66.
- 67 Ibid., p 67.
- 68 Ibid., p 14.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid., p 65.
- 71 See Party Program of the PAIGC, article VI, in Rudebeck, op.cit., p 255.
- 72 Cabral, op.cit., p 138.
- 73 Ibid., p 44. Also see Rudebeck, op.cit., p 86.
- 74 Cabral, op.cit., p 71.
- 75 See Party Program of the PAIGC, article VII, B, in Rudebeck, op.cit., p 256.
- 76 Ibid.
- 77 Cabral op.cit., pp 35, 108.
- 78 Cabral, op.cit., p 58.

- 79 Ibid., p 87.
- 80 Ibid., p 69.
- 81 Ibid., p 8.
- 82 Ibid., p 75.
- 83 V.I. Lenin, What Is To Be Done?, op.cit., p 25. Engels too stressed the "theoretical struggle". See ibid., p 27.
- 84 Cabral, op.cit., p 75.
- 85 Ibid., see also Rudebeck, op.cit., p 72.
- 86 Cabral, op.cit., p 46.
- 87 Ibid., pp 48-49.
- 88 Ibid., p 78.
- 89 Ibid., p 77. See also Rudebeck op.cit., pp 73-76.
- 90 Cabral, op.cit., p 46.
- 91 Ibid., p 48.
- 92 Ibid., p 49.
- 93 Ibid., p 51.
- 94 Ibid.
- 95 Ibid., p 53.
- 96 Ibid., p 52.
- 97 Ibid., p 53.
- 98 See page 4 above.
- 99 Cabral, op.cit., p 63.
- 100 Ibid., p 15.
- 101 Ibid., p 60.
- 102 Ibid., p 61.
- 103 Ibid., p 84.
- 104 Program of the PAIGC, V, 6, Rudebeck, op.cit., p 255.
- 105 Cabral, op.cit., p 85.
- 106 Ibid.
- 107 Ibid.

- 108 Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*, op.cit., p 121.
- 109 Ibid.
- 110 Ibid.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 Cabral, op.cit., p 30.
- 113 In 1959 during Bissau dock workers and merchant seamen's strike, 50 African workers are said to have been killed and 100 wounded. See Cabral, *ibid.*, p 108.
- 114 Ibid., p 127. For further information on Party Organization see Rudebeck, op.cit., p 108.
- 115 Cabral, op.cit., p 130.
- 116 Ibid., p 131.
- 117 Ibid., p 71.
- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Ibid., p 129.
- 120 Ibid., p 133.
- 121 On an interview given to Tricontinental Magazine issue no. 8, September 1968, answering questions on tactical principles Cabral said: "You know very well that Che Guevara, the great Che Guevara for us, wrote a book, a book on the guerilla struggle." See *ibid.*, p 111.
- 122 Ibid.
- 123 Ibid., p 121.
- 124 Ibid., p 122.
- 125 Che: *Selected Works of Ernesto Guevara*, Ed. by E. Conachea and Nelson P. Valdès (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London; 1969), p 48. He also asserted that the revolution had discovered Marxism through practice.
- 126 Mao Tse-Tung and Che Guevara, *Guerilla Warfare* (London: Cassel & Company Ltd., 1962), p 113.
- 127 Ibid.
- 128 Amílcar Cabral, *Unity and Struggle* (London: Heinemann, 1980), p 77.
- 129 F. Castro in Ben Turok (ed), *Revolutionary Thought in the 20th Century* (London: Zed Press 1980), p 138.
- 130 Ibid., Under certain conditions small groups can 'ignite' a revolution.
- 131 Ibid., p 170.

- 132 Ibid.
- 133 Ibid., p 139.
- 134 See Cabral, *Revolution*, op.cit., pp 54-55.
- 135 Ibid., p 71.
- 136 Ibid., p 54.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 Ibid., p 49.
- 140 Ibid., p 50.
- 141 Ibid., p 129.
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 Cabral, *Revolution*, op.cit., p 55.
- 144 Ibid., p 19.
- 145 Ibid., p 35.
- 146 Ibid., p 68.
- 147 Ibid., p 100.
- 148 Ibid., p 60.
- 149 Cabral thanks countries such as the USSR, China, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, for their assistance, see *ibid.*, p 120.
He pays special tribute to Cuba for its "effective aid" and underlines the racial relation that exists between Africa and Cuba.
- 150 Ibid., pp 74-75.
- 151 Ibid., pp 44-45.
- 152 Ibid., p 55.

6.1 Introduction

In colonial Africa the influence of Marxist thinking had been extremely peripheral. South Africa, where movements of predominatly British Labour origin formed a communist party in 1921, is an exception to the rule.

However, sporadic contacts have occurred, starting with the early days of the Communist International. The Comintern which was founded in 1919 under the direct influence of V.I. Lenin, coincided with the formation in Paris of the Pan-African movement - one of the earliest advocates of African nationalism. The Comintern made it one of its urgent duties to support liberation movements in regions under imperialist control.

With this aim, the Comintern's Congresses of 1921 and 1922 discussed the "Negro Question" and elected a commission to deal "with the problems affecting the people of African descent."¹

The Commission, basing itself on known arguments concerning the "National and Colonial Question", reported, inter alia, that it "recognises the necessity of supporting all Negro movements which are either directed at undermining capitalism or aim at weakening it or making its development in the West Indies, Africa and America impossible."²

While some organizations pleaded with the colonial masters for the protection of the interests of the colonized, the Comintern "appealed to the black masses to organize themselves and fight for their freedom."³

With this as background, the Comintern is known to have dispatched its activists to Africa, camouflaged as tourists, in order to organize the masses against colonialism.⁴ However, these efforts were not of much significance. As we will see later on, the Comintern's main contact remained the South African Communist Party.

From the side of individual countries, it has been said that the German CP had a "Negro-Committee" which in 1930 arranged an "International Congress of Negro Workers", where a few names of participants from the African continent appeared. The same committee is also known for having published a monthly journal expressing the cause of the black people under imperialism.

The League Against Imperialism which attracted some African delegates, mainly from South Africa, during its inaugural congress held in Brussels in 1927, is another example of such contact.⁵

At the early stage of the "renaissance" of the liberation movements during the second half of 1940's, Rassemblement Democratique Africain (RDA), an all-African party which represented the regional political groupings of French West Africa, had links with the French Communist Party. These connections are said to have ended after four years, in 1950.

Of the nature of this association, it has been said that RDA "preserved considerable freedom of action in regard to specifically African questions, on wider international issues it adhered closely to the Communist Party line during this period."⁶

The will to help the colonial peoples and to influence their ideological directions was not lacking on the side of the USSR and the other Socialist countries. This has been evident from the very days of Lenin, the Comintern, and the continued anti-colonial and anti-imperialist agitations in international forums by the Soviet government, up to the later direct material support to the liberation wars in Africa, and the cooperation with the independent states.

Summing up this readiness is the decision of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, which stated that "the Soviet state will continue to: render the utmost support to the peoples fighting for their liberation and work for the immediate granting of independence to all colonial countries and peoples; promote all-sided cooperation with countries that have won national independence and help them to develop their economy, train national cadres and oppose Neo-colonialism."⁷

As for the materialization of the Marxist theory in mass movements in the sub-Saharan region, there appear two categories of this occurrence. On one hand, Communist Parties have appeared under difficult conditions in about four countries; on the other, of about ten countries known to have been on non-capitalist path, five have declared scientific socialism as the basis for their ideological and economic activities.⁸

In terms of individual thinkers, though the post-independence African developments have brought forth few revolutionary writers of Marxist conviction, the region is yet to produce intellectuals with profound depth and refined theoretical analysis. With the hostile colonial experience as background, the variety of development levels in the different societies, and the limited exposure such intellectuals still have vis-à-vis the revolutionary ideology, can be said to be the main factors accounting for the lack of abundant and qualitatively commendable literature in this field. No wonder, therefore, if

some of the available works contain contradictory aspects in some features.

The following works are considered as representing the thinkers in this final category. These include: D. Wadada Nabudere's *The Political Economy of Imperialism*; A. Lerumo's *Fifty Fighting Years* and his various articles; Issa Shivji's *Class Struggle in Tanzania*; a few experiences from the Ethiopian Revolution, and some articles by Albert Tshume.

Scientific socialists basically adhere to the ideas of communism as presented by Marx and Lenin in their outlook and method for understanding and changing the world.

The issues pertaining to imperialism⁹ and contradictions and problems inherent in the existing society are traced to their roots in the development of societies which are investigated a) by the study of historical materialism, which traces the development of societies in their contradictory movement; b) by the study of dialectical materialism, which provides tools for analyzing these contradictory forces in nature and societies - where class struggle can be observed; and c) by the study of political economy.

As regards the issue of independent development by the emerging nations, Marxist thinkers see no genuine national independence without revolutionary change. Independence, short of economic liberation from the grips of monopolies is tantamount to becoming an "appendage", and a "colonial reserve" where "The neo-colony becomes the base for capital exports and market for the monopolists. Finance capital secures an overwhelming grip on the neo-colony, then making it impossible for it to develop its productive forces autonomously."¹⁰

Internally the society is to be revolutionized from its base. The process is to be accomplished in two phases. First, a national democratic revolution must take place. The success of this revolution, assured by a working class party leadership, leads to the second phase, the socialist revolution.¹¹ The first stage is a necessary condition for the second, as an independent national state is the only basis upon which socialist construction is possible.

The main material chosen for a deeper analysis of the thinkers in this category includes that of A. Lerumo, and at a certain juncture his thought will be amplified by few references to other works.

Lerumo's documentation of fifty years experience of the Communist Party of South Africa, the oldest CP in Africa, gives him a chance to examine the roots

of the apartheid system, and the ways it developed in defiance of all humane values to become the focal concentration of all of what racism is. Lerumo's analysis includes cogently discussed revolutionary way out of such a system of oppression.

The Party's experience from its inception in direct connection with Lenin and the Communist International, as well as its continued link with the world Communist movement, is another factor responsible for selecting Lerumo's works.

A. Lerumo, whose real name is Michael Harmel, had been an active member of the CP of South Africa until his death in 1974. Among other things, he served as organizer, editorial board member and editor of *The African Communist*, the journal of his party.¹²

NOTES to CHAPTER 6

Introduction

- 1 F. Meli "The Comintern and Africa", *The African Communist* No. 43, (1970), p 88.
- 2 Ibid., p 89.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ibid., p 91.
- 6 Coleman and Rosberg *op.cit.*, p 235.
- 7 B. Ponomarev etc., *History of Soviet Foreign Policy, 1945-1970*, *op.cit.*, p 497.
- 8 The Communist Parties in Tropical Africa include: 1) The South African C.P.; 2) C.P. of Lesotho; 3) The Sudanese CP.; and 4) The Nigerian Marxist-Leninists; Those socialist-oriented countries which have proclaimed Scientific Socialism are Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin, the People's Republic of the Congo as well as SWAPO. See Gromyko, *op.cit.*, p 29. Dr Felix Moumie of Cameroun who once led the union des Peuples du Cameroun (UPC), a "marxist party", Pio Pinto of Kenya and A Kassim Hanga of Tanzania are also mentioned among some of the Marxist activists of the 50's. See A.M. Babu, *African Socialism or Socialist Africa* (London: Zed Press, 1981), p 91.
- 9 D. Wadada Nabudere. *The Political Economy of Imperialism* (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1977) pp i-ii.
- 10 Ibid., p viii.
- 11 Ibid., pp 275-277.
- 12 Some description is available about the life and work of Michael Harmel (A. Lerumo) in *The African Communist* No. 59 (1974), pp 5-8.

6.2 The Writings of A. Lerumo

6.2.1 Perception and Discription of the Problem

6.2.1.1 Existing Society

The main subject of Lerumo's book concerns the racist and colonial type government of the South African Republic and the role of the Communist Party within that society. He also concerns himself with the conditions of post-independence African countries, as his articles which appeared mainly in *The African Communist* reveal. Consequently, the discussion below will not be limited only to a colonial situation.

6.2.1.1.1 The Political Situation

As Lerumo's book puts it, the present South African society is governed by a minority of white people whose forefathers settled in the region in the 17th Century. These people of Dutch origin took over the land from the indigenous African population. The present government took shape within the control and influence of the British imperialism which dominated the region, and under whose auspices the unification of the country under white bourgeois rule was achieved in 1910. Upon the 1948 capturing of the state machinery by a fascist-type Nationalist Party, the current repressive and racist system took shape.

Based on historical evidence, Lerumo sees the present South African minority government as a creation of both British imperialism and Boer Capitalism, which gradually crystallized into a "terrorist dictatorship of a local white imperialism and national oppression on a scale virtually unparalleled in the modern world."¹ The system is seen as a continuation of the "intolerably harsh and degrading" conditions under which the black people lived since the days of colonialism. Under these conditions only "white persons enjoyed the franchise or any other citizen rights."

Lerumo writes, though South Africa is not a colony, "the masses of our people enjoy neither independence nor freedom." He dismisses the conceding of independence in 1910 as a design "in the interests of imperialism." This is so because "power was not transferred into the hands of the masses of people of South Africa, but into the hands of the White minority alone."²

From this he concludes, "A new type of colonialism was developed, in which the oppressing White nation occupied the same territory as the oppressed people themselves and lived side by side with them."³ This was possible because 'British imperialism' and 'Boer Capitalism' allied themselves at

the expenses of "people's land and liberties."⁴

In order to sustain the system and to maintain the privileges of its rulers, the government developed a racist belief system which has come to be known as apartheid or separate development. This system was aimed at keeping the non-white population apart in terms of "land ownership, settlement and forms of government."⁵

Lerumo traces the influence of Nazism in South Africa, during the rise of Hitler, whose ideas represented "the most racialistic and aggressive sections of finance-capitalism." He says, "Hitler's herrenvolk ideology found fertile soil among sections of the white racialists of South Africa."⁶

It is obvious that such a government by minority over a majority is based on total repression and mass murder. Examples of such measures by the "fascist police state, ruled by lawless terror" are many in Lerumo's book."⁷

The laws which are enacted by the government also are unbearably repressive and designed to protect the socio-economic and political privileges of the white minority. Various regimes that came to power piled upon the non-white population "mountainous burden of oppressive and discriminatory legislation." The masses were "herded like cattle into ghettos", "Bantu Homelands", "resettlement areas" and farm prisons. The government which "abolished all tracks of the rule of law" used its total power "to detain, torture and murder political opponents and place the entire country under permanent state of 'emergency' and martial law."⁸

6.2.1.1.2 The Economic Situation

Lerumo's analysis of the South African system does not treat the political and social problems in isolation from the economic issue. In fact, following the Marxist tradition, he discusses his subject in a "wholistic" manner where, in the final analysis, economic variables play a determining role. The reality is that those who control the land, industry, commerce and the labour power of the black population also control the political power, and the laws they enact and the coercive machinery at their disposal are all to assure the perpetuation of such control.

In the process which impoverished the African, Lerumo sees the exploitative "conspiracy" from two directions, as he says, "The South African and foreign monopoly capitalists and large scale landowners who, together, are the rulers of this country, have cultivated racial differences and prejudices as their most effective instrument in their insatiable drive for cheap labour and high profits."⁹

The main culprits of this pattern, as Lerumo repeatedly notes, are "British imperialism and Boer colonialism" who "found a common ground in the destruction of African landownership and traditional societies; and then enforced exploitation of African labour."¹⁰

The existing self-sustaining rural communities were destroyed through various legislative and coercive measures in a way that served to create labour at low pay where trade unions were also suspended. Such forced proletarianization of the black population which brought wealth to the owners of capital, was effected among other things, through the destruction of the rural communities; by the seizure of fertile land which is the economic basis of such communities, the enforcing of various laws which compartmentalized the people making them suitable to exploitation and taxation.

Today, nearly 90 % of the land with mineral and other wealth of great significance is owned by white people, while the two-thirds of the population own the remaining.

The working conditions of blacks in the mines and factories can be characterized as "Bad food, wretched living conditions in the compounds, and miserably inadequate pay."¹¹ The white population, besides owning the means of production, is further fortified behind a wall of privilege in the civil service and professions, in educational opportunities and in a hundred other fields.

His discussion of labour exploitation is analyzed in the light of the Marxist theory of surplus value, from which he concludes: "The wages payed by the employer bear no direct relationship to the value produced by the worker."¹²

The discussion of the patterns on the economic scene, therefore, present the African population as being robbed of their ancestral lands, herded into reserves and limited localities, forced by starvation and organized terror into an army of proletariat to provide cheap labour to the capitalist
a) white - owned mines; b) farms and c) factories.

6.2.1.1.3 The Socio-Cultural Situation

Marxist thinkers do not view the social and cultural situation of a society in isolation from its material condition. Poor economic and technological standing necessarily means poor socio-cultural conditions. As Lerumo's discussion indicates, black people in South Africa, lacking an economic base and political power, are relegated to the lowest stratum in the society - reduced to the status of "hewers of wood and drawers of water."¹³

He further reveals how African languages are despised and underdeveloped, and how the growth of national culture is stifled. Educational and health facilities are also consciously neglected.

6.2.1.2 Traditional or Historical Past

The first part of Lerumo's book briefly deals with the historical past of the African population; here he attempts to analyze the socio-economic and political level of development attained before the appearance of the Dutch intruders. In so doing, he also tries to refute the distorted historical presentation the South African government has fabricated in order to cover up the crimes of colonialism.

He writes: "The African population, who are depicted as savage barbarians without culture, achievements or history, are represented as relative newcomers who entered the country at about the same time as whites, and conducted aggressive wars against them."¹⁴

By way of combating this view, Lerumo turns to factual sources and discusses the historical background of eight large ethnic groups that inhabit South Africa.¹⁵

In his historical analysis of the internal development in South Africa prior to the dominance of imperialism, Lerumo finds life characterized by communal land ownership. Economic activity here varied from simple hunting and pastoralism among some groups to more advanced groups with "complex economic and political institutions."¹⁶ Besides farming and breeding domestic animals, people were engaged in the mining of "iron, copper, tin, gold and other minerals" as well as manufacturing "pottery and hide products."¹⁷

African communities exchanged local products for ceramics, glassware and woven fabrics with China, India and the Arab lands. Such exchange, Lerumo observes, "helped to enrich the African societies and stimulate their natural development, in contrast with later deprivations of capitalism which destroyed their very fabric."¹⁸

Trade with Eastern countries existed as early as the twelfth century.

Archeological findings bear the mark of high culture among some people of these regions, they show "many traces of ancient stone buildings and fortified towns and elaborate systems of irrigation and defense."¹⁹

It is obvious that such a level of economic activity also entails a degree of social stratification and class differentiation.

In terms of political and judicial practices, Lerumo finds the African experience "essentially democratic", where major matters were referred "to a general assembly of the people."²⁰

However, such pre-capitalist social formations were no match for the capitalist motivated incursions, be they at mercantile or monopoly stages, as Southern Africa witnessed from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The incursions, as witnessed by the wild activity of the Boer "trekks" and British colonialism, were carried out through diplomatic and legal manouvers, as well as military confrontations, to the disadvantage of the African population.

For example, the obtaining of a treaty of friendship from the prominent chiefs which gradually was converted into protectorate agreements, was common. Secondly, when some Boers moved from the coastal regions to escape the British they received land from the chiefs for use according to prevailing communal practice, which they later converted into private property. Such processes introduced a new system of landownership which later developed into a capitalistic mode of production. Through these and other similar processes, the African lost his land and could no longer use it in common, as his forefathers did. This was the result of a confrontation between two different systems.

Wars were also fought between the colonizers and the African population in South Africa, where, at times, the Africans inflicted heavy casualties and crushing defeats on the British and the Boer soldiers.

In particular, the Zulu military organization was only defeated after a process of continued war, which took place over the late 19th century. When confronted by the Boer influx and British colonialism, the Zulu resisted with their own warriors who were "barefooted soldiers, regorously trained and disciplined ... schooled in highly organized, planned and original battle-tactics."²¹

However, prolonged attacks weakned all the such groups and in the end imperialism triumphed. The main causes Lerumo mentions for the defeat of the African people include: a) a lack of internal unity, inter-tribal wars and factions which were fueled and exploited by the colonialists and b) the lack of modern arms, which is the reflection of a general backwardness.

However, the people had the will and resolve to protect their freedom and their land; it was not an empty land which was occupied, but rather the work of colonialism and imperialism, as seen also elsewhere crushed the

people's resistance through fraudulent legality and superior fire power, finally subjecting them to bondage.

6.2.1.3 The International Link

Lerumo's analysis of the European contact with Southern Africa is consistent with the Marxist theoretical tradition and in particular with Lenin's theory of imperialism. Modern colonialism and imperialism are linked to the rise and maturation of capitalism - from the early days of mercantilism to contemporary monopoly capitalism. At each stage, economic interest appears to be the motive force for European penetration and subjugation of the various peoples. Lerumo sums this up in saying: "Beginning with penetration and enslavement of some Southern areas by Dutch settlers in the pursuit of land and labour, they have experienced domination by the British bourgeoisie in its earlier trading phase and its modern phase by monopoly capitalism."²²

There are two discernible stages presented by Lerumo in the colonization process of Southern Africa. The first stage is characterized by the influx and semi-organized incursions by Dutch Boers from the middle of the seventeenth up to the nineteenth century, when the coming of the British imperialism introduced a qualitative difference, both in terms of colonialism and the socio-economic transformation of the region. The Dutch East India Company was responsible for the initial influx. The second stage is characterized by a collaboration between the nascent Boer bourgeoisie and British imperialism, which after the initial bloody confrontations forged an alliance in the union of 1910, making a common target the exploitation of the natural resources and human labour of the African and the non-white population.

When the Dutch East India Company, which had colonial interests in the Far East, set up a "refreshment station at the Cape in 1652"²³, its main target does not appear to be South Africa. This company was "virtually a state within a state, combining the wealthiest merchant bourgeoisie of Holland and controlling a vast empire"²⁴ in such far places as Ceylon, Java and Indonesia.

The initial interest of the merchants in the station appears to be to "replenish their stocks of meat, vegetables and fresh water on their long voyage."²⁵ Such items were at first secured from the African farmers on the basis of friendly barter. Then a gradual intensification of the contacts soon began to reveal the greed of the new comers in their "seizure of cattle and slaves." The Company, aiming at establishing farming activity on a

commercial basis began "subsidizing Dutch settlers on Khoikhoi lands as Boers" or farmers. This set the trend of an influx and penetration in search of land, cattle and labour, which were obtained from the native population through violence and fraudulent deals. However, compared with the British imperialists, the Boers were more "part-time raiders than conquerors."

The British, who superseded the Dutch in their naval power, could take control of the Cape colony in 1806. With this, the South African people experienced the advent of a determined power with "full time professional soldiers for the practice of regular warfare to conquer, annex and dominate overseas colonies."²⁶

With the growth of manufacturing industry and the ascendancy of the industrial bourgeoisie, "the main motive" of British foreign and colonial policy became "the export of British manufactures." They now sought not only captive markets for industrial goods, but also "suppliers of indigenous products" or raw materials "produced on a commodity basis by the super-exploitation of cheap colonial wage labour."²⁷

British imperialism, spearheaded by monopoly capitalists as exemplified by Cecil Rhodes²⁸, transformed the South African region with lasting effect on both Boer and the African peoples. It bourgeoisified the backward mercantile Boer farm owners, whose growth was further assured by the discovery of precious minerals and the growth of industry. In the process, slavery and serfdom on feudal-like farms were rendered obsolete and wage labour became the dominant feature. The process created an internal capitalist class in its wake, who in turn collaborated with monopoly capitalists and controlled the means of production - the land, with its minerals, industry, and much of the commerce.

In order to insure cheap labour, the African people were proletarianized through the destruction of the traditional communal life-style, among other ways by taking away their land, through taxation, coercion and numerous legislative measures.

Lerumo views the existing system in South Africa as a special colony where the descendants of Dutch settlers and British colonialists, aided by multinational corporations who share profits, control the means of production of the country and brutally exploit a non-white population.

He also argues that, Western imperialism, currently spearheaded by the USA, has a great stake in the creation and continuity of the South African system.

6.2.2 Values/Principles and Goals

6.2.2.1 Rejected and Desired Values

The apartheid policy which is created and nourished by unscientific ideas of racial superiority, is totally rejected by Lerumo. This policy is viewed serving as a smoke screen for the economic, political and social privileges of the few and Lerumo's analysis attempts to lay bare this reality.

The apartheid policy is described as the instrument for "the oppression and exploitation of the majority of the people for the benefit of the rich", says Lerumo; it is a "mixture of Neo-Nazism, colonialist arrogance and Calvinist righteousness ... pursued with a lunatic thoroughness and callous disregard for humanity."²⁹

Seeing the matter from a historical perspective, he writes "colour prejudice and white chauvinism grew with the wars of dispossession against the African and the desire of the white minority to monopolise land, property and opportunities."³⁰

As the system of apartheid was shaped within the sphere of capitalist development and strengthened by the imperialist expansion, its fate remains also tied to this process.

Lerumo's solution to the problems raised by apartheid and similar beliefs is to be found in the principle of equality. He does not approach equality as a mere hope or wish, nor as the result of simple legal processes or moral conviction of some well-wishers, but rather as a principle attained through the dialectical progress of human history, the motive force of which is class struggle.

The way to equalization of opportunities is through "a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers on an organized and harmonious plan...."³¹ This will usher in the ultimate system of "World Commune to be, when the class war shall have been forever stamped out, when mankind shall no longer cower under the bulgeon of the oppressor, when the necessities and amenities of life, the comfort and the culture, the honour and the power, should be to him who toils not him who exploits, when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common."³² Hence, the fortress of apartheid as well as that of similar ideas which perpetuate inequality, can be demolished when private ownership of the means of production ends.

6.2.2.2 Goals or Envisaged Future Society

6.2.2.2.1 Political Goals

The revolutionary strategy envisages various stages of political development in a situation of colonialism and dependence. These are seen in terms of immediate and long-range goals.

The immediate objective envisages the "destruction of colonialism and the winning of freedom"³³, and is an essential condition for further transformation. In neo-colonialist situations, pre-capitalist relations are crushed in an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal uprising. The type of revolution to be achieved at this stage is called "a national democratic revolution."³⁴ For South Africa, its main aspect will be "the national liberation of the African people." Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time a) "put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege, b) "restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people;" and c) "guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities to all." The content of this revolution is further discussed below.

The long-range goal which is expressed as the "future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party" is "the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of classless, communist society."³⁵

Although the formation of a united front with the nationalist and democratic forces is seen to be important for carrying on the revolution, the presence of a Marxist-Leninist Party is essential, "both to fulfil its long term mission of winning a Socialist South Africa based on workers' power, and also to ensure the success of the immediate fight for national liberation and democracy."³⁶ The building of a socialist system is envisaged under the leadership of a vanguard party of the working class in alliance with the working peasants, and with the assistance of revolutionary intelligentsia. As Lerumo puts it, at the socialist stage "The state passes into the hands of the working class, which unites with the peasantry and working intellectuals to suppress the capitalists and to govern in the interest of the whole people."³⁷

Only scientific socialism is capable of solving the complex problems of national oppression created by capitalism. Under its formula "all nations and national groups enjoy not only formally equal rights, but also a true equality of living standards, educational and cultural levels, of language and status of national independence and self-determination."³⁸

For the whole of Africa to overcome the prevailing socio-economic and political backwardness, scientific socialism is presented as the sole remedy by Lerumo and other revolutionary thinkers. Claude Ake, on the closing page of his book concludes, "It would appear that the choice for Africa is not between capitalism and socialism after all, but between socialism and barbarism."³⁹

There are only two systems that are possible today namely, capitalism and socialism. The talk of the "third path", or of other kinds of socialisms than "revolutionary Marxism, Communism", are "just different kinds of capitalism, wearing socialist mask to try to bluff the workers."⁴⁰

Experience has proved scientific socialism to be the "most suitable method of quickly developing countries which are economically backward."⁴¹

Lerumo argues that as there are classes and class struggle, rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, workers and peasants in Africa, scientific socialism is not only relevant, but it is the only ideology that is capable of solving the pressing socio-economic problems in the continent. In saying so, he opposes those who regard Marxist thinking as "foreign" to Africa.

Another objection to scientific socialism is that it is anti-religious. In this regard, Lerumo's view is that Marxism believes that everything can be explained rationally, and that religion is superstition. But Marxists "respect people's religious beliefs." On the other hand, if the imperialists use religion as a cloak for oppression they must be vigorously opposed.

"But no genuine church or religious group has any need to fear a Communist or socialist society."⁴²

Lerumo has devoted much time to the discussion of the process of revolution. But he has very little to say about the problems of a socialist state within the African setting. Such a state is to be based on the control of the people, who are to be led by a Communist party. What problems arise in making this postulate functional? What is the relation of the major institutions, the party and the state to the people? How is the people's control assured vis-à-vis the government? What problems arise in organization and administration of production? He does not discuss such and similar issues. However, although he is not explicit regarding such problems, his observation is that "certainly the countries of socialism are not perfect and without faults."⁴³

6.2.2.2.2 Economic Goals

In terms of economic change also the levels of national democratic revolution and that of socialism are differentiated. At the stage of national democratic revolution, there exists a mixed economy, where public and private ownerships appear side by side. However, the state controls the main economic "heights" and guides the general direction. There will be public ownership, public and private joint ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership. The revolutionary activities are heightened so as to "restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people."⁴⁴ At this stage, the dominance of foreign monopolies will be curbed and the national aspect gains the upper hand. All feudal and tribal forms of relations will be liquidated.

The socialist economic reconstruction encompasses technological advancement, industrial development and agricultural mechanization. For this task the material conditions are prepared at the transitional stage and from here ownership progressively becomes public.

Lerumo makes a comparison between capitalist and socialist systems, saying, "Under capitalism, the land, the natural resources and industries, built by the hands of the workers belong to private owners or companies." But under socialism, "All means of production - the land, the mines, factories and so on - belong to the people as a whole."⁴⁵ Exploitation of man by man shall cease. The socialist economic development shall progress from paying each according to his work to rewarding each worker according to his needs, when the problem of "scarcity" is to be overcome by abundance.

6.2.2.2.3 Socio-Cultural Goals

As cultural development is seen in connection with material advancement, the socialist economic transformation is to effect tremendous socio-cultural changes. Production is to make people "happy, comfortable, that they are highly educated and cultured."⁴⁶ As educational health and other social services and opportunities are to be available on equal basis, there will not be any pocket of the population in a country that is disadvantaged. "Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children."⁴⁷

Under such a system, efforts shall be made to "discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of ... cultural life."⁴⁸ There will be respect for the national heritage, and the creative ability of the masses will be encouraged and rewarded.

Revolutionizing the culture of the masses, a related document holds, would mean: "illiteracy is wiped out, workers' intelligentsia are produced in large numbers, science and art develop, the spiritual life of the masses are developed, the bourgeois intelligentsia are rehabilitated."⁴⁹

6.2.3 Means: Tactical Problems

6.2.3.1 Orientation

The revolutionary tactics of struggle, which are discussed at length by Lenin⁵⁰ include legal and illegal, violent and non-violent, open and clandestine methods, depending on objective circumstances and concrete situations. Compromises⁵¹ are also struck when these are thought to forward the revolutionary cause. But it cannot be determined in advance which method will suit which particular situation.

Lerumo's discussion of the experience of the South African Communist Party is presented in the light of these methods. The struggle of the Party between 1921 and early 1950s was strictly non-violent, as the following examples show.

a) Passive resistance campaign. This method which is exemplified by the 1946 campaign of the Natal Indian Congress bears the influence of Gandhi's philosophy.⁵² Although Lerumo sees serious shortcomings in this method, he acknowledges that Gandhi had "left a legacy of self-sacrificing mass struggle."⁵³

b) Demonstrations which were organized on various occasions to express the indignation of the oppressed people and often unarmed people were confronted by military actions.⁵⁴

c) Communist Party members also contested parliamentary seats and ran for other elective offices.

d) The late 1940's saw actions such as strikes, boycotts and other militant methods of resistance "as opposed to passive protests and deputations on which much reliance had been placed in the past."⁵⁵

Lerumo sees the non-violent approach and the defiance campaign⁵⁶ of 1950's as "effective form of training and mobilising disciplined volunteers in non-violent action at a time when other (i.e. violent) means were not yet accepted by the majority of the people or their leaders."⁵⁷

The above methods forwarded limited democratic demands of a reformist nature, such as the abolition of pass laws, equal rights in pay, rights of expres-

sion, land reform and political freedom. This obviously created splits in the revolutionary ranks, so that "left-wing opportunists" who demanded "all-or-nothing", rejected such legal actions as 'reformism', while "right-wing opportunism" saw reforms as everything to strive after.

Rejecting both trends, Lerumo forwards a Leninist view saying, "The Communist Party had never been dogmatic or inflexible concerning methods and techniques of struggle."⁵⁸

However, Lerumo is not articulate enough in his evaluation of what he termed the legalistic "bias" of the Party during the almost four decades period when peaceful mass confronted strongly armed, institutionalized violence. His use of "legalistic-illusion" in the section of the party's leadership, hardly explains the problem.

At last came the acceptance of the violent means. The African National Congress, the largest organization with which the Communist Party cooperated for a long period, and the Communist Party itself, came to the conclusion that armed struggle was inevitable. This was with the understanding that the "great series of militant non-violent struggles, general strikes and boycotts", though they aroused the people, had not achieved their goal. Nor did world opinion effect any change. Thus, at the end of 1961, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party in a common front decided to change "tactics and methods", and to create a new organization known as "Umkhonto we Sizwe, Spear of the Nation,"⁵⁹ in order to conduct a guerilla armed struggle to meet "state violence and terror with retaliatory violence." This course of action was chosen when all legal organizations were silenced through ban and terror, and every legal channel closed.

That such resort to revolutionary armed struggle does not mean "romanticization" of one particular method was expressed by the South African Communist Party Chairman, when he said "We did not reach this conclusion as a result of any preconceived notions regarding methods of struggle, any so called universally-valid dogma."⁶⁰

6.2.3.2 Implementation

6.2.3.2.1 Theoretical Assessment

The line of thinking and theoretical framework the scientific socialists, exemplified here by Lerumo, follow the "system of Marx's views and teachings", and that of Lenin, who expounded these teachings in the light of the historical development of this century. The teachings are presented in such main

subjects as Marx's philosophical materialism, dialectics, his materialist conception of history, economic doctrine, and class struggle. Here we shall also take up the problem of the transition to socialism in the backward regions.

Lerumo stresses the importance of an understanding and an allegiance to Marxism by communists, to insure clarity in their actions, which must be "planned, purposeful and principled." Given this, he sees communists as "the bravest, most clear-headed and incorruptible leaders."⁶¹

For such clear-headedness and understanding of the laws of social change, the key is the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism. Lerumo states, "It gives us the key to understand the world as it is and how it changes. All progress comes through conflicts and contradictions - conflict between the new and the old - the new struggling to be born. In modern society the working class is the one which is struggling for a better life."⁶²

Lerumo's interpretation of historical development and his approach to analyzing social phenomena in their totality is in accordance with the materialist conception of history. This view holds that the sum total of productive relations determines the socio-economic structure of society, and that each epoch embodies a particular dominant mode of production. Social change, thus, is effected with the change of particular mode of production.

In line with this, Lerumo finds "class divisions and institutions varying from age to age according to the economic basis, and each form being superseded by another when its mission is fulfilled."⁶³ He mentions the tribal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist stages in this progressive development of history on varying levels.

Lerumo's economic analysis also conforms to the Marxist theory. His understanding of labour as the source of value; the creation of surplus value through labour, and this as the source for capital accumulation, and his identification of the economic motives in imperialism, serve as examples to this effect.

Of labour and wages Lerumo states, "The wages payed by the employer bear no direct relationship to the value produced by the worker. Only a part of his shift of working hours is spent by the worker in producing the value of his wages. The rest of the time he is producing extra value - 'surplus value'"⁶⁴

In terms of class analysis also Lerumo follows the Marxist understanding that

"All recorded history is the history of class struggles...."⁶⁵

The theory of class struggle gives a clear picture of the seemingly chaotic contradictions and clashes of strivings and interests in society. These strivings are based on the difference "in position and mode of life of the classes in each society."

The class of a group of people is determined by the place they occupy in a historically determined mode of production, and their relation to the means of production. Those who control the means of production necessarily belong to the ruling class of an epoch, while the ruled engage in the productive activity. As such, in a slave society, the masters, in a feudal society, the landlords, and in a capitalist society, the bourgeoisie form the ruling class.

While capitalist development simplifies the task of class analysis, a complication arises in the colonial and dependent regions where pre-capitalist modes of production persist, giving the society its multistructural shape. Shivji discusses classes in Tanzania before and after independence was achieved.⁶⁶

His class analysis of pre-independence Tanzania includes:

- a) The Metropolitan bourgeoisie who resided in Britain and ruled a colonial state;
- b) The Commercial bourgeoisie of Asiatic origin;
- c) The petty bourgeoisie of African origin which can be, sub-divided into upper, middle and lower layers;
- c) The Kulaks;
- e) The Workers and;
- f) The peasantry.

Shivji's post-independence analysis is devoted to the new role of the petty bourgeoisie as controller of the political machinery, its struggle for economic control against the commercial bourgeoisie, and its relations to the workers and the peasants. His detailed discussion of the growth of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" attempts to scrutinize the political and economic base of the post-independence government, and its place in the on-going class struggle.

Ake, too, asserts that class relations exist in Africa; that there are "those who effectively control the means of production, and those who effectively possess no means of production."⁶⁷ He identifies a) Exploiters by class situation, a category which includes "everyone who owns capital

and employs wage labour in industry, commerce or agriculture; b) Exploiters by class position. In this category are those "who, while not legally owning means of production, play a major role in administering or actualizing exploitation, and maintaining its conditions." Officer corps of the armed forces and the police, high ranking civil servants and employers of parastatal bodies, and university teachers are all included in this category.

Peasants and the urban proletariat make up the exploited classes. Ake, in his somewhat generalized and confusing discussion, usually refers to the exploited classes as "the African proletariat."⁶⁸ He has a tendency to over-stress the revolutionary role of the peasantry and entertains a degree of suspicion towards the working class as "the urban element" and "relatively privileged."⁶⁹

Although they express it in varying ways, thinkers in this category agree that today Sub-Saharan Africa is composed of stratified societies with landlords in regions of feudal development, bourgeoisie (bureaucratic, comprador and national), petty bourgeoisie, proletariat and the peasantry. However, the level of development shows variation.

At independence almost all the states in Africa began as neo-colonial entities. Hence, a revolutionary situation existed where class struggle in the following pattern was evident. The tribal chiefs and feudal nobility, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the comprador with the assistance of imperialism, strive on one side to maintain the status quo, while the proletariat, the peasantry, the progressive sections of the intelligentsia and petty bourgeoisie struggle for a revolution. Here the usually small national bourgeoisie, which has a stake in an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle, may side with the revolution. To this extent the revolution, if it succeeds, is a national democratic one.

Further, the working class, under its own Marxist-Leninist vanguard party (or by creating one if it did not exist) forwards the revolution. Uniting with the working peasants and assisted by the revolutionary intelligentsia, it struggles against the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeois reactionaries and the kulaks or rich peasants; to the extent these factors exist and develop the revolution is on a socialist course.

Ierumo calls upon Africa to "choose" socialism, for there is no third way between it and capitalism. Here enters the theoretical controversy of transition to socialism of backward countries.

A line of thinking exists among the Marxists: that backward regions with

predominantly pre-capitalist modes of production can move to a socialist stage without traversing the path of capitalism, given the existence in one region of a victorious proletariat which comes to their aid.

Engels himself spoke of the possibility of an "abbreviated process of development" for these regions. "But," he said, "an inevitable condition of this is the example and active support"⁷⁰ of the victorious proletariat.

The proletarian revolution came to Russia and shifted the center of revolution from Western Europe. Consequently, the inspiration to the backward regions of the world were to come from the USSR.

Speaking to this effect Lenin, at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International in 1920, said:

"If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their disposal - in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development. Not only should we create independent contingents of fighters and party organizations in the colonies and the backward countries, not only at once launch propaganda for the organization of peasants' soviets and strive to adapt them to pre-capitalist conditions, but the Communist International should advance the proposition, with the appropriate theoretical groundings, that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system, and through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage."⁷¹

Lenin does not, in fact, see the necessity of waiting for a spontaneous process to create "a definite level of culture" as a requirement to the building of socialism. But if such cultural level is required, he argues, "why cannot we begin by first achieving the prerequisites for the definite level of culture in a revolutionary way, and then, with the aid of the workers' and peasants' government and the Soviet system, proceed to overtake the other nations."⁷²

The Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties of 1960, affirmed the above theoretical line of thinking, stating that even where the prerequisites for carrying out immediate revolutionary socialist transformations were lacking, it was still possible for countries to continue and to accomplish the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic revolution and take the path of development leading through an intermediate stage of democratic transformation

to socialism."⁷³

This theoretical line indicates that socialism is a possibility in the regions with predominantly pre-capitalist socio-economic relations. The conditions for socialism - well-developed productive forces, which are usually created by capitalism - are to be materialized by the democratic revolutionary state, which "by accelerated and revolutionary means" effects "the material, social, ideological and other pre-requisites for the construction of socialism."⁷⁴

The state of "socialist orientation"⁷⁵ or national democratic revolution is neither socialist nor capitalist. It is a "political form which makes socialist oriented development possible."⁷⁶

The class content of the state under the socialist path is described "as a revolutionary - democratic dictatorship of proletarian, semi-proletarian and non-proletarian social groups who have a stake in national independence and steady socio-economic development towards socialism."⁷⁷

Effective transition is possible only through the revolutionary transformation of the socio-economic and political life of the people. This intensifies class struggle in the transitional state, and the success of the revolution depends on the victory of that section which stands for the creation of socialism.

Objective class analysis of developing regions like that of Sub-Saharan Africa reveals that the proletariat is fairly weak numerically, organizationally, and in terms of political consciousness. It is this very fact of backwardness which makes it incumbent on the middle strata to take the political leadership of the emerging states. In the revolutionary state, too, the petty bourgeoisie (its revolutionary section) with the proletariat, the peasantry and other revolutionary elements, form a "front" to exercise the "dictatorship of a revolutionary people."⁷⁸

However, because such a path is full of perils, and because some countries have reversed their progressive course, some authors raise serious doubts about the success of transition via the development of such 'front' into a workers' party.⁷⁹

It is clear that without the formation and leadership of a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party there can be no talk of workers' power.

Even if such a party exists, its practical work must be its ultimate judge. It has been said with emphasis, that short of "constructive work aimed at

radical revolutionary transformation of the earlier structure of society" the mere proclamation of "scientific socialism or Marxism as the official ideology does not make a party Marxist-Leninist or a country socialist."⁸⁰

The successful accomplishment of the transitional task by the "revolutionary-democratic parties" depends on the extent they orient themselves "towards Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism".⁸¹

Hence, the stage of transition is one of intensive class struggle, where "honest patriots" have to struggle against "careerists and opportunists" and a "patient and consistent struggle by Marxist-Leninist parties, where they exist, and by individual and small study groups of Marxists, where parties do not exist,"⁸² will have to be waged to insure the success of the revolution.

The Ethiopian revolution which broke out in 1974 presents an example of such a transitional process. The goal of this revolution was the creation of a 'peoples' democratic republic', and the realization of a socialist system under the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. The transitional experience is briefly presented as follows:⁸³

Even though a working class party is a decisive factor for the triumph of a revolution, given a mature objective condition, a revolution can begin even at its absence. Here a provisional body mustering the support of the masses, can assume leadership; it:

- a) takes immediate and decisive measures against arch-reactionaries;
- b) ameliorates the social condition of the broad masses;⁸⁴
- c) severs connections with the imperialist and reactionary camp;
- d) takes immediate steps that would facilitate the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist science in order to create a firm foundation for the revolution;⁸⁵
- e) facilitates the formation of mass organizations;⁸⁶
- f) reorganizes the old military structures and sees to it that political education is provided to the men-in-uniform;
- g) works towards arming the masses and formation of the peoples' militia for the defence of the revolution.

Further, as Meskerem, the Journal of the Commission for Organizing the Party of Workers of Ethiopia, COPWE, presents the 'major' and 'decisive factors' in preparing the economic preconditions for socialism are the following:⁸⁷

- 1 The development and predominance of socialist relations of production.
- 2 High level of growth of productive forces.
- 3 The arming of the society ... with the Marxist ideology.

4 Firm economic relationship with other socialist countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

In the process the task of effective transition from national democratic revolution to socialism is accomplished "when the working class, having seized the political power under the vanguard leadership of the communist party, carries out the necessary economic and social transformations, when the growth of the productive forces is enhanced and socialist relations of production have become deeply rooted."⁸⁸

The next stage is that of constructing a "fully developed socialist society" from where transition to communism is possible.

6.2.3.2.2 Organizational Matters

Revolutionary thinkers, particularly those of thorough Marxist conviction, strongly stress the importance of organization. Conscious and vigilant organization is said to replace spontaneous clustering. This also entails "clear-headedness" and goal-consciousness in action. In Lerumo's writing also, this awareness is evident.

"The key is ORGANIZATION", goes the message. This was forwarded to the masses of South Africa who were longing for freedom. "Workers! Join your trade unions. Peasants organize ... Build up ... your underground ... organizations which fight for freedom. Support your South African Communist Party, the voice of oppressed and exploited South Africa."⁸⁹

Organizations are of two general types. There are strictly political organizations like parties, and mass and professional organizations such as trade unions, womens youth and teachers' organizations. Of the first type, Lerumo deals with the African National Congress,⁹⁰ the oldest and most influential in South Africa; the South African Indian Congress and the Coloured Peoples' Organization. (In a way all are of mass nature.) But his main concern is the Communist Party and to a lesser extent, the guerilla organization.

The formation of the Communist Party took place in 1921 when various socialist movements came together to form it. Of these, The International Socialist League was most influential.⁹¹

Membership in such a vanguard party was strictly based on commitment to the Marxist-Leninist teachings, the acceptance and readiness to "fight and die," for the party's programme and a willingness to give financial and active support to a local body of the party. The bulk of the membership must be

from the advanced "workers and peasants."⁹²

Speaking of the working methods and nature of such a party, Lerumo notes, the Communists as an organized collective body "had both to participate actively in the legal mass movement, and to combine this with persistent planned illegal work to rebuild and strengthen the Party as the vanguard of the most advanced class, the working class."⁹³

The membership is required to be active within the strict guidelines of the organizational structure and rules from the national level down to the cells.

The activities of the party mentioned by Lerumo include:

a) organizing workers in labour unions and activating existing mass organizations. In this field the party struggled to create trade unions which encompass all racial categories along class lines. The white working class, however, refused to follow the non-racial approach and opted for the apartheid policy;

b) opening party schools when there is the semblance of legality. This effort produced important activists, cadres and leaders from the African masses;⁹⁴

c) founding of newspapers and magazines at various times to educate and organize the people;⁹⁵

d) formation of a front with other organizations to forward the cause of liberation. In this effort, the Communist Party and the African National Congress have a long experience. The Communists work with all the democratic forces who struggle against oppression as they have "no interests separate from those of the working people."⁹⁶

Lerumo mentions various problems the Party faced in its history. These include a) "left" opportunism, sectarianism, syndicalism and trotskyism

b) "right" opportunism c) white chauvinism, which is related to the issue of the rights of nations and nationalities.

Of these problems the last one is worth further discussion because it casts some light on the problem of application of theory in varying situations.

The colonial nature of South Africa, the racist ideology and the refusal of the white working class - a class which Lerumo calls "an emasculated adjunct of the boss class" - to identify itself with the plight of the black working population, complicated the application of a class-theoretical approach.

This raised the question of the relevance of the Communist Party and its programme in the colonial situation. M. Kotane, one of the most influential contributors to the history of the Party, who later also served as the Party's General Secretary, spoke of a "Bolshevization" of the Party, "rooting" it

"among the masses." In his letter of 1934 to the Party's Central Committee, he argued that "while it must not lose its international allegiance" the Party must "become South African not only theoretically but in reality."⁹⁷

In line with Lenin's writings on the right of nations to self-determination,⁹⁸ and according to the 1928 proposal of the Comintern,⁹⁹ Kotane agitated for the creation of a "Native Republic."

The gist of Lenin's discussion on the issue can be presented as: "Complete equality of rights for all natuions; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations."¹⁰⁰

His theory on imperialism and discussion concerning the question of nations, became the ground for the alliance of the working class or proletarian parties and the national liber-ation movements in the backward regions. This follows from Lenin's reasoning that "the movement of the populations of the globe initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism and will perhaps play a much more revolutionary part than we expect."¹⁰¹ It is in appreciation of this contribution that Lerumo states, "Lenin's remarkable foresight established the theoretical basis for the alliance of the revolutionary working class and national liberation movements on a world scale, so notable a feature of our time."¹⁰²

The significance of this line of thinking for a colonial situation like that of South Africa, can be put as follows:

- a) recognition of the legitimacy of the aspirations of the colonized peoples for independence and their revolutionary potential;
- b) promoting the struggle of these peoples on an international level, with the help of a theoretical basis, affording both solidarity and the possibility of common activity against imperialism and reaction;
- c) tactically as well as strategically, it enables formation of united fronts and rational deployment of forces against a major enemy. This is to be done without sacrificing principles.¹⁰³ The cooperation between the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress towards the realization of the national democratic revolution, must be seen in light of this reasoning.

Such a united front of "national liberation of all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people" for a "national democratic revolution", argues the Communist Party Programme, is the "essential condition and the key for the advance to a Socialist South Africa."¹⁰⁴

The discussion on nationality rights also promises a solid ground for unity,

as it rejects special privileges and advocates equality for all nationalities, national and ethnic groups. That is why it has relevance for non-colonial situations, as well, to those where regional and ethnic tendencies are perennial threats to the unity of working masses.

As has been mentioned above, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress decided in their common front to establish a guerilla organization in order to carry out an armed struggle. Lerumo made some generalizations and conclusions about the nature and general conduct of such warfare. This was done through summing up and making contrast with earlier experiences of various liberation wars, albeit with modifications and cautions.

The character of the fighting force in such warfare is:¹⁰⁵

- a) one of political cadres and subordinate to the political movement;
- b) based on conviction and commitment, where
- c) political and military leadership must be co-ordinated and eventually integrated.

This is in line with the basic understanding that such a type of armed struggle is "not to be approached as a purely military question, but that operations must be planned to arouse and organize the masses."¹⁰⁶ Such thinking also rejects "reckless adventures", and "fruitless violence" of a terrorist nature.

In launching such struggle there must be a pronounced flexibility, which he expressed in these words, "Any theory that localised operations of fulltime guerillas would in itself generate revolution was rejected; as also was the concept that organized armed activity should await complete political mobilization and advanced nationwide organization."¹⁰⁷

About the geographical setting of operations, he said, "While the principal operations would be initiated in and based on rural areas, armed activities in the towns were an indispensable corollary front."¹⁰⁸ Although rural areas have their importance, this fact is not overstressed to the detriment of urban areas.

The general conduct of such war, Lerumo mentions, is to follow well-known methods, including hit and run, fought in battle-fields, countryside and factories. The clashes are said then to grow in size and number and to involve the mass of people. In addition workers would refuse to work for the oppressor, they sabotage in his arms productions; those in rural areas become more militant and courageous, they take over the land, arm their freedom fighters, bomb roads and railways.

The main sources of weapons are those captured from the enemy and those made by the guerilla themselves, who should also produce simple items such as petrol bombs and grenades.

6.2.3.2.3 The Human Element

A socialist revolution is a revolution of the masses, the working class and the oppressed peasantry, who "build the closest ties of friendships" between themselves. It advocates the economic, political and social well-being of the majority of the people. Lerumo sees socialism as "a more humane way of life than any that has existed", where "the ideal of human equality and brotherhood can and will be realized."¹⁰⁹

The masses are not only 'receptients' of the aspired to goods, they are also the makers. Therefore, socialist thinking does not stop at "romanticizing" the people and their potential, but it desires that they are thoroughly made a) conscious of their plight, their possibilities and desired goals; b) organized and guided under concrete programme; and c) mobilized for the achievement of these goals, which involves ideological and organizational preparations for the capturing of political power by the working class and defending what is gained while building the new society. Lerumo terms this process: "to arouse and organize the masses."

Revolutionaries put a great faith in the ability of the masses. In the struggle for freeing South Africa, inspite of the fact that the regime is heavily armed, Lerumo demonstrates courage saying, "We have the support of the great majority of the people."¹¹⁰ The masses provide the fighting force, the guerilla, and they shield it from the enemy's attack for "His strength is that of the people."¹¹¹

The role of the people in the general strategy of the revolution is seen as follows. In stage one, during the national democratic revolution, the main objective is the overthrow of the fascist government, the native chiefs who are its instruments, and imperialism, its protector. The main force here is the united front of the national liberation, which includes workers, peasants, intellectuals and 'businessmen'. Here the role of the Communist Party, as the vanguard of the proletariat, is to take most active part in organizational work, armed struggle and in leadership.

In stage two, the revolution is continued with the total overthrow of capitalism as the main objective. The main force here is the proletariat, which unites the peasantry under its own programme and is assisted by the revolutionary intelligentsia in its task of building a socialist society.

6.2.3.2.4 Cooperation and Assistance

In Lerumo's writings it comes out clearly that cooperation among the world proletarian movements is a natural course of action; one that is in the interest of realizing a world free of exploitation and class antagonism. It is this message that appears to be central in his lengthy discussion of the notion that the life, theoretical development and strategic directions of the South African Communist Party, have been shaped within the pervading influence of the Comintern and the Soviet Union. Such cooperation is envisaged in accordance to the principle of "proletarian internationalism."

As developments of this century appear to indicate, the Leninist theory of imperialism and his linking of the national question with the colonial problems, provide a theoretical basis for the cooperation between the Communist Parties and the national liberation movements against imperialism. Such an understanding is discernible in the speech of J.B. Marks, one time Chairman of the South African Communist Party, which Lerumo includes in his book.

Marks pictured the world in terms of an ideological bi-polarity, where the interests of the proletariat and those of the liberation movements together conflicted with those of imperialism. The problems of Southern Africa, he argued, could not be seen apart from this picture. In his words, "Behind the vicious and disgraceful regime of Vorster, Smith and Caetano stand the sinister powers of NATO and Japan, of world imperialism."¹¹²

On the side of liberation, such analysis places the "vast Afro-Asian, socialist and democratic majority of mankind."¹¹³ The support of the USSR and other socialist countries for the developing regions, both during liberation struggle and the post-independence revolutionary process, are seen as crucial. This internationalist duty is explained by common expressions, such as, "warm comradely solidarity", and "our close and trusted allies, the leaders and the people of the socialist countries."¹¹⁴

Further, the cooperation and mutual assistance within the developing world, as well as the solidarity and assistance of the workers and democratic people within the capitalist camp, must be reckoned with.

Although the question of self-reliance is built into the notion of socialist revolution, where human ability is to be released from all fetters to the purpose of creativity and higher achievements, Lerumo does not make any explicit contribution on this issue. However, there are some implications when he said that freedom for South Africa does not come from "the skies", nor does it come "from outside", where millions make resolutions in our

favour "unless and until the people of our country stand up and fight for themselves."115

Socialist self-reliance, however, is opposed to bourgeois and petty bourgeois 'bellicose' nationalism. Here, strong relations, guided by the principle of proletarian internationalism, between the socialist and revolutionary countries are seen as a natural course. National sovereignty and proletarian internationalism are viewed as dialectically united rather than mutually exclusive. Such unity and cooperation are envisaged under the supreme common goal of building socialism and communism."116

NOTES to CHAPTER 6.2 - 6.2.3.2.4

- 1 A. Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years* (London: Inkululeko Publications, 1971), p 2.
- 2 Ibid., p 27.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid., Analyzing the class content of the post-1910 governments of Generals Botha and Smuts, Lerumo indicated the dominance of the mining monopolists and the burgeoning class of capitalist large-scale farmers. The main concern of these governments was to speed up the flow of labour at the lowest possible rates of pay to mines and farms. See p 28.
- 5 Ibid., p 54.
- 6 Ibid., p 75. According to Lerumo, Malan and Verwoerd both of whom later on became prime ministers, had at certain stages been Nazi propagandists, see *ibid.*, p 79 and the Nationalist Party which took power in 1948 was an organization deeply influenced by Nazi ideas, see p 88.
- 7 Some of the actions which illustrate the brutality of the state mentioned by Lerumo include the following:
In October, 1920, police opened fire on demonstrating workers in Port Elizabeth killing 23 and wounding 123 persons, see *ibid.*, p 49. In May, 1921, the Bulhoek massacre took place where over 163 religious sect members were killed and 129 wounded (see p 49). In May, 1922, the Bondelswarts of South West Africa (Namibia) were indiscriminately bombed by planes which left 150 dead (p 49).
"Hundreds of workers were killed and wounded" during the 1946 Witwatersrand strike (p 85). The 1960 Sharpeville massacre which shook world opinion is another example mentioned (p 105).
- 8 Ibid., p 98.
- 9 Ibid., p 158.
- 10 Ibid., p 27.
- 11 Ibid., p 84.
- 12 A. Lerumo "Socialism For Africa", *The African Communist* No. 56 (London: Inkululeko Publications, 1974), p 111.
- 13 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 157.
- 14 Ibid., p 1.
- 15 The eight population groups inhabited South Africa before the coming of the Europeans, discussed by Lerumo, are the Tswana, San, Khoikhoi, Venda, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu and Tsonga. See *ibid.*, p 2. His main sources include *The Oxford History of South Africa* Vol. 1 (ed. Leonard Thompson and Monica Wilson, London 1969) and M.A. Jaspán, *Civilization in Southern Africa before European Conquest* (*Liberation*, Johannesburg No. 14, November 1955).
- 16 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 3.

- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid., However, viewed in the light of Marxist historical materialism, Lerumo admits these societies were backward and their implements and methods of production had not advanced to a level which would enable their communities to withstand invasion by capitalist states (p 3-4).
- 20 Ibid., p 3.
- 21 Ibid., p 9. Shaka, one of the Zulu leaders, was known to be "one of the most remarkable military geniuses in history". He raised an army of 80,000 strong. Besides the Zulu, the Ndebele and Griqua are also mentioned as having presented strong armed resistance against the colonialists.
- 22 Ibid., p 2.
- 23 Ibid., p 4.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 Ibid.
- 26 Ibid., pp 7-8.
- 27 Ibid., p 20.
- 28 Cecil Rhodes was one of the "diamond millionaires" of South Africa who once headed the De Beers Consolidated, a giant which controlled the diamond fields. Rhodes became Prime Minister of Cape Colony in 1890. Obsessed by dreams of British imperial glory, later on he established his own company - the British South African Chartered Company with its own private army, which invaded and carved up a slice of African territory north of the Limpopo River. The territory was named Rhodesia - present day Zimbabwe. See *ibid.*, p 24.
- 29 Ibid., p 93.
- 30 Ibid., pp 31-32.
- 31 Ibid., p 118.
- 32 Ibid., p 120.
- 33 Ibid., p 107.
- 34 Ibid., p 159.
- 35 Ibid., p 107.
- 36 Ibid., p 97.
- 37 Lerumo, *The African Communist*. Op.cit., p 111.
- 38 A. Lerumo, "Socialism the live reality", *The African Communist* No. 58 (1974), p 95.

- 39 Ake, *op.cit.*, p 107.
- 40 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, *op.cit.*, p 148. Lerumo contends that the British Labour Party and the French "Socialist" Party say they favor 'socialism' but in their deeds they are not socialists. In Britain, though the Labour Party repeatedly came to power, it did not put the means of production under public control, and still is under the grips of "big capitalists and imperialists." With this, he dismissed all claims of social democracy as a form of socialism as just words. He also rejects 'African' socialism which is claimed by some leaders who, in reality do not practice socialism but on the contrary "supress socialist and Communist literature and leaders." African Socialism is seen as "a cloak for the practice of total capitalism." See *The African Communist* No. 26 (1966), p 53.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p 147. The example of the rapid development of the Soviet Union, mainly its Asiatic region, is mentioned. Also, contrast is made between China and India both of which obtained their "independence" at the same time; but India, following the capitalist road was outstripped by China in economic progress.
- 42 *Ibid.*, p 150.
- 43 A. Lerumo, "Socialism the live reality", *The African Communist*, No. 58 (1974), p 97. As Lenin argued "Socialism is not a ready-made system ...", but it is a struggle advancing from stage to stage. See Lenin, *Collected Works*, v. 19, p 46.
- 44 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, *op.cit.*, p 107.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp 146-147.
- 46 *Ibid.*
- 47 *Ibid.*, p 144.
- 48 *Ibid.*
- 49 The Information and Propaganda Committee of the Fifth Anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution. Addis ~~Ababa~~ (1979) p 33.
- 50 V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, in three volumes, V. 1 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), pp 39-43.
- 51 See V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, in Three Volumes, V. 3 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1975), pp 304-305.
- 52 Mohandas K. Gandhi, the father of Indian Nationalism, lived and worked in South Africa between 1893 and 1914 where, probably, his political life was influenced by the oppressive surrounding in which his country-men and the African population lived. He developed a method of passive resistance against colonial practices; such resistance aimed at achieving desired goals by way of passive suffering and self-sacrifice. It rejected violence. See Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 30.
- 53 Lerumo, *Ibid.*

- 54 For example, on Dingane's Day demonstrations of 1930 against the pass law, Johannes Nkosi, one of the prominent labour organizers was murdered by police. See *ibid.*, p 67.
- 55 *Ibid.*, p 89.
- 56 *Ibid.*, p 96. See also Albert Luthuli, *Let My People Go*, *op.cit.*, pp 104-112.
- 57 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 96.
- 58 *Ibid.*, p 81.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p 106.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p 176. There is an understanding among revolutionaries that today there exists the possibility to achieve "revolution without civil war and an armed uprising." See D.I. Chesnokov, *Historical Materialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), p 562. However, under some circumstances armed struggle is inevitable.
- 61 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 149.
- 62 *Ibid.*, p 151. See also Lenin *Selected Works*. V. 1, *op.cit.*, pp 22-23.
- 63 Lermo, *ibid.*, p 117.
- 64 Lerumo, "Socialism for Africa." *The African Communist* No. 56 (1974), p 111. See also Karl Marx, *Capital* V.1 (Moscow Progress Publishers, 1977), pp 173-192.
- 65 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, *op.cit.*, p 117 (In the appendix from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party of South Africa*.)
- 66 Issa G. Shivji, *Class Struggle in Tanzania* (London: Heinemann, 1976), pp 44-54. About the role of the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie," and the struggle between capital and labour under its rule see pp 63-78.
- 67 Ake, *op.cit.*, p 62.
- 68 *Ibid.*, p 63.
- 69 *Ibid.*, p 105. His talk of "peasant-based revolution" and "worker-based revolution" is at variance with the Leninist "alliance" of the two classes.
- 70 Albert Tshumbe "The Non-Capitalist Road" *The African Communist* No. 52 (1972), p 97 quoting Marx and Engels, *Selected Works* (3 volumes edition), Vol. 2, p 387.
- 71 Lenin, *Selected Works*, V. 3, p 408.
- 72 Lenin, *C W*, v.33. Moscow 1965, p 478.
- 73 Gleb Starushenko, *Africa Makes a Choice: The Development of Socialist Oriented States* (Moscow: Novosti Press Agency Publications House, 1971). p 15.
- 74 *Ibid.*, p 22.

- 75 The term socialist orientation, like the term non-capitalist development, was forwarded in 1969 by the Communist and Workers' Parties meeting. See *ibid.*, p 10.
- 76 *Ibid.*, p 21. The task of such a state includes a) preserving national independence b) anti-feudal reform c) industrial development, mainly under state control d) democratization measures e) cooperation with the socialist states f) cultural revolution and raising the living standards of the people.
- 77 Albert Tshume, *The African Communist*, op.cit., p 104.
- 78 See V.G. Solodovnikov, op.cit., p 14. In its development the National democratic revolution is characterized by the ever-growing anti-capitalist and socialist tendencies, and in the final analysis "is bound to secure the transition from the precapitalist relations to socialism through the period of the non-capitalist development." *Ibid.*, p 11. The process is also viewed as a gradual evolution of the revolutionary democracy towards scientific socialism." *Ibid.*, p 25.
- 79 Maj Palmberg (ed.) *Problems of Socialist Orientation in Africa* (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1978), p 31. Countries once mentioned to be on a non-capitalist path in Sub-Saharan Africa include Sudan, Guinea, Mali, Ghana, Somalia, Tanzania and Congo Brazzaville. See Albert Tshume, "The Non-capitalist Road", *The African Communist*, No. 52 (1972), p 103. Some of these countries are no longer on the same course, e.g. Ghana and Sudan and new ones are added e.g. Benin, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.
- 80 Starushenko, op.cit., p 116.
- 81 Tshume, "The Non-Capitalist Path in Africa," *The African Communist*, No. 52 (1972), pp 53-54. There are two types of liberation movements or revolutionary struggles mentioned by Starushenko - These are a) those which develop into socialist revolution during the struggle or immediately after independence, like the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Korean Democratic Republic and Cuba; and b) those which continue democratic revolution, solving general democratic and certain socialistic tasks as those on non-capitalist path. See Starushenko, op.cit., p 37.
- 82 Tshume, *ibid.*, p 55.
- 83 See the Program of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, April 20, 1976, and The Information and Propaganda Committee of the Fifth Ann. of the Ethiopian Revolution, op.cit., p 11.
- 84 The major steps which were taken by the Provisional Military Administrative Council in terms of alleviating the economic burden of the masses include: a) Nationalization of all rural land which freed Ethiopian peasants from feudal exploitation b) Nationalization of urban land and extra houses and c) placing the major imperialist-owned and dominated means of production under public control. For detailed discussions on these measures, see Tarekegn Adebo, *Ethiopia: Background Dynamics and Processes of the Ongoing Revolution* (unpublished paper presented at Lund University, Department of Political Science, 1976), pp 48-52.
- 85 The acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology by the Provisional Military Administrative Council; establishment of the Provisional Office for Mass Organizational Affairs and the Yekatit Political School for dissemination

- of the ideology and organizing the masses, training of cadres inside the country and abroad; facilitating and encouraging grouping of Marxist - individuals under various organizations and at last establishment of a Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, are some of the main highlights on this direction. As the current slogan "the workers' party will be formed through the merger of Communists and through our struggle" indicates, the party is to be Marxist - Leninist in its ideology.
- 86 The major mass organizations born during the revolution are the All-Ethiopia Peasants Association (AEPA), the All-Ethiopian Trade Union (AETU), Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth and Womens' Associations, Urban Dwellers and various cooperative organizations. There are teachers' and other professional associations which are either already underway or in the process of being established.
 - 87 Meskerem, A Marxist - Leninist Ideological Journal v. I, No. 5 (Addis Abeba, 1981), p 29.
 - 88 Ibid.
 - 89 Lerumo, Fifty Fighting Years op.cit., p 156.
 - 90 Much of the activities of this Congress are recorded by one of its prominent leaders, Luthuli. See Albert Luthuli, Let My People Go, London: Collines Fontana Books, 1962.
 - 91 The International Socialist League was formed in 1915 by a group of left-wing elements in the Labour Party of South Africa. The League was joined by the De Leonite Socialist Party which had been in conflict with the Labour Party. The League opposed the deviations of the Second International and hailed the October Revolution of 1917; some of its members became prominent leaders in the Communist Party of South Africa, as well as the World Communist movement. See Lerumo, Fifty Fighting Years, op.cit., pp 37-42.
 - 92 See ibid., p 91. Lerumo, quoting the 1970 augmented Meeting of the Central Committee, also spoke of the reconstruction of the party as an "organization of professional revolutionaries..." ibid., p 110. On party organization, compare this with Lenin's view V.I. Lenin, Selected Works V. 1. op.cit., pp 177-178.
 - 93 This statement shows the mood of the South African Communist Party after the experience of decades, which had, among other things, the shock of 1950 banning order behind it. See Lerumo, Fifty Fighting Years, op.cit., p 97.
 - 94 Although originally the Communist Party was formed by white labour movement, by 1924 the African membership was the majority - out of 1.700 members 1.600 were Africans. This was due to a constant politicization process. Party activists and leaders, such as Moses Kotane, Johannes Nkosi and J.B. Marks were the results of that effort. See Lerumo, ibid., pp 58-59 and 63.
 - 95 For example, 'Unsebenzi' and 'Inkululeko' (Lerumo, pp 74 and 112) were the papers of the Communist Party which were used to educate and organize the masses. The African Communist is a magazine of the Party which has a wide circulation on world scale.

- 96 Lerumo, *ibid.*, p 159.
- 97 *Ibid.*, p 133.
- 98 See V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works* V. 1., *op.cit.* pp 567-574 and Bruce Franklin (ed.) *The Essential Stalin* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), pp 54-78.
- 99 In 1928, the Executive Committee of the Communist International discussed at length the problem of South Africa under the slogan "an Independent Native Republic - with full guarantee for minority groups - as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' government". See Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, *op.cit.*, p 64. It was a proposal for a "multi-class" unity against imperialism.
- 100 V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, V.1., p 616. See also ERIC, *Class Struggle and the Problem in Eritrea*. Addis Ababa, 1979, pp 67-82.
- 101 V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, v. 32.
- 102 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 46.
- 103 Within the 'united front', the working class pursues its independent course of development. See *ibid.*, pp 96, 131,152.
- 104 *Ibid.*, p 205.
- 105 *Ibid.*, p 111.
- 106 *Ibid.*
- 107 *Ibid.*
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 Lerumo "Socialism, the live reality" *The African Communist* No. 58 (1974), p 95.
- 110 Lerumo, *Fifty Fighting Years*, p 200.
- 111 *Ibid.*
- 112 *Ibid.*, p 177.
- 113 *Ibid.*, p 162.
- 114 *Ibid.*, p 175.
- 115 *Ibid.*, p 184.
- 116 See, for example, *Meskerem Review* (Sept 1980), pp 24-35.

The discussion afforded so far enables us to forward some generalizations about the two major ideological trends in the political thought of the Sub-Saharan African region, as they were presented in our four phases. These generalizations cluster around the major areas of our analysis, namely the perception and description of problems, the values or principles upheld, the goals enunciated and the means suggested towards achieving such goals.

The political and socio-economic conditions of contemporary society as related to past traditions and international ties, forms the basic problem area of the thinkers we have covered.

7.1 Moderate Reformists

Moderate reformists describe the political, economic and social problems of a society in a fragmented manner. Their approach lacks the ability to view relations between phenomena and offers unconnected explanations to problems discussed.

The problems of contemporary society are not systematically traced to their roots in the developmental process the society in question has undergone.

If examples are cited from the past, they are done so in isolated fashion.

Tradition is upheld as a weapon against colonial arrogance, European racism and chauvinism, but not often for its part in contributing to the formation of a universal human culture. Often it is ascribed as an idealized refuge and mystification of facts, instead of being an honest confrontation with the reality of underdevelopment.

The issue of imperialism is also explained as a sort of historical coincidence, which flourished after the decision of some expansionist leaders to divide up the colonized world among themselves. Therefore, such thinkers often see decolonization as just political act which must be decided upon through legal fora, thus tackling all problems related to foreign domination once and for all.

These thinkers often perceive themselves as being like those classical liberal theoreticians of the bourgeois revolutions. Evidently, those revolutions were the result of the internal development of the productive forces, the decay of feudalism, the development of capital (commercial and industrial and the class which owned it), all taking place under the protection of a strong state.

On the contrary, these African self-made "bourgeoisie" are not results of such developed productive forces. They lack both the economic and social base of the classical bourgeois thinkers. In reality, their society is composed of poor peasants and an emerging working class, with a thin layer of petty bourgeoisie to which these ideologists belong. With the exception of a few individuals in commerce and few compradors and bureaucrats, there is no developed national bourgeois class in Africa. Neither does there exist a free economy or a strong state.

Thus, such thinkers lack a basic understanding of their society and its problems. As such, they do not present any realistic solution to the problems they raise, except uttering some vague principles. In their illusion, they take these "principles as valid in and for themselves", which can be correctly termed as "pious wishes and phrases."¹ They lack the methodology and outlook that would enable them to "descend from the world of thought to the actual world", and from "language to life."²

Of the classical liberal values "liberty, fraternity and equality," values to which they make frequent allusion, the last is pronounced more often than the others. Besides being an evident reaction to racial discrimination, this is a topic where the African heritage of communality weighs heavily. Even those with deep commitment to liberalism are forced to speak in terms of "African socialism" and similar egalitarian concepts. But deeper analysis reveals however, that this equality is a formal and "legal" one, one which does not presuppose economic restructuring. In addition many of these thinkers warn against communism as a "foreign ideology."

The means towards achieving their set-goals are legal and gradual. In the colonial situation, constitutional arrangements based on negotiations are proposed, where petty bourgeois party organizations take on the task of bargaining through an agreed upon forum. Their tactics are strictly peaceful, and if, at a certain stage armed resistance was resorted to, its aim is not to effect revolution.

Society is pictured as a unit rallying around common interests. The existence of classes and class struggles are thus denied.

As regards outside relations, these thinkers make no secret that the strong ties that bind their society to the former colonial rulers should continue; under the illusion of equal partnership, however. Their anti-capitalist rhetoric does not shed much light on the dangers of the continued subjection of their economies to multinational monopolies. Nor are they suspicious of the phenomenon 'aid', on which they heavily depend.

7.2 Radical Reformists

Although the radicals or the national democrats of an earlier stage, are more systematic than the moderates in their understanding and presentation of socio-economic and political problems, they also tend to describe phenomena in a fragmented and eclectic manner. It is obvious however, that their frequent references to the literature of a revolutionary theoretical tradition gives them a clearer perspective of the issues they deal with.

For example, the Leninist conception of imperialism has had an influence on these radicals, in that they stress the importance of economic independence. They also denounce neo-colonialism, and speak of genuine independence as against sham independence. However, they lack a systematic description of a process that could lead towards the genuine independence they prescribe.

Traditional heritage, mainly the aspect of a communal orientation, has a particular influence on radical reformists. Taking this heritage as a point of departure, they hope to build an alternative egalitarian system. Although somewhat more systematic than the moderates, their treatment of past history is also rather isolated and fragmented.

In terms of colonialism, the radicals have shown determination at critical moments during the nationalist struggles of their countries, where they demanded immediate independence rather than prolonged subjection. They have also distinguished themselves in the international arena, as consistent speakers against imperialism and ardent supporters of liberation movements. But their arguments do not present inbuilt systematic solutions against imperialism or neo-colonialism.

As they stress the African egalitarian heritage and the cooperation of the extended family, the radicals underline the value of equality. While revealing a strong influence of the liberal heritage in the substratum of their thought pattern, they also speak out against exploitation of man by man and for brotherhood. Such ideals are woven into some regional concepts, as meaning "socialism."

Their future socio-economic and political goals are also treated in the light of such "socialist construction."

In terms of implementation, they depend on the inherited political institutions and petty bourgeois party organizations. They also deny the existence of class struggle and the necessity of revolutionary process.

Their socialism is envisaged in voluntarist terms where the 'African masses',

with their cooperative tradition, can develop an inherent brotherhood to a national level.

Although there is the possibility that some of these radical reformists gradually come to accept a Marxist ideological framework, the thinkers of this category are more like utopian socialists³ and populists.

7.3 Revolutionary Democrats

The revolutionary thinkers, unlike the reformists, present socio-economic and political problems, as well as issues of change and development, in a systematic and interconnected process of 'natural' history, where "relics of the past foundations of the present and germs of the future", are dialectically comprehended and analysed. Socio-economic and political phenomena are thus not treated in isolation from each other.

African tradition and its past history are seen as part of a general universal movement of human development, with its own unique forms and contributions, but governed by the same laws that shape development elsewhere. Therefore, tradition is neither ethnocentrically romanticized nor ignored. It is described as it exists and what is useful in its surviving cultural expressions is to be preserved and utilized.

The phenomenon of imperialism is systematically traced to its roots in social development. Instead of being an act arbitrarily unleashed by some powerful decision makers, it is presented as a law-governed stage in the process of capitalist development, a search for marketing industrial goods and for raw materials. It is not difficult to discern the influence of the Marxist methodology in this analytical framework.

The question of independence, according to these thinkers, does not stop with political arrangements. It must be total, such that it would liberate the means of production from the control of monopoly capital and release the energy of the working masses for a determined beginning to the creation of a prosperous society. Both external and internal exploitative fetters have to be shattered and new relations established for this to be possible, from this viewpoint.

Here the principle of equality is highly valued not as a benevolent utterance for legal arrangements, but both as a necessity and a historical imperative that must be operationalized through concrete acts of economic restructuring and political control by conscious and organized masses through their representative organs. Society is assessed realistically.

The future society must guarantee genuine independence and develop popular structures in the place of the colonial machinery or archaic feudo-bourgeois structures. The new system must guarantee equality and abolish the exploitation of man by man. This is to be achieved through public control of the major means of production.

However, unless one is working with the assumption of the existence of a Marxist-Leninist party that leads the revolution from stage to stage, the thinkers of this category do not give a clear picture of the stage of socialist construction. They dwell much on the stage of national democratic revolution, the stage whose main feature is dismantling the existing exploitative relations.

The means towards realizing the future goals are primarily peaceful. But the resistance of the colonial and ruling classes in the face of an inevitable mass upsurge to do away with oppression, forces these revolutionaries resort to violent, illegal and at last, armed uprising.

The colonial status quo, which had been perpetrated by legalized violence, had to face illegal nationalist uprisings including guerilla warfare. In cases of archaic regimes which protect the interests of the few privileged, a similar verdict must be passed in order to effect radical transformation.

The Marxist theory of class and class struggle enables the thinkers here described to identify the actual and potential social forces that would stand for or against the realization of revolutionary goals.

In terms of organization, the role of a revolutionary party or group which leads the workers, peasants and the revolutionary section of the middle strata is essential. While the possibility of such a revolutionary democratic party or group to move, after a period of struggle, towards a Marxist-Leninist party organization is understood, the imperative of the proletarian dictatorship for socialist construction does not come out clearly at this stage.

This means that the thinkers in this category, with the exception of those declared Marxists, are not clear on some important points about an effective transition to socialism. The crux of which being the leadership of the revolution at the stage of socialist construction. The decisive role of a Marxist-Leninist party and the issue of proletarian dictatorship, do not come out as clearly here as they do in the more advanced thinkers of the revolutionary tradition.

7.4 Scientific Socialists

Scientific Socialists are declared Marxists whose general outlook, method of understanding and analysis of social and natural phenomena, follow the system of views and teachings of Marxism. They study the socio-economic, political and cultural problems of society in the light of Marxist dialectics and historical materialism.

As such, they treat all phenomena in nature and society in their mutual internal relationships, in the process of their organization, development and interaction. Accordingly, the socio-cultural and political problems of a particular society are studied in their relation to the economic complex, which in the final analysis, provides the basis. In this, historical materialism gives an "integral picture of social life and the interaction of its aspects, based on showing the determining role of the mode of production, the economic system, the masses, the class struggle."⁴

The issues of colonialism and imperialism are also considered within the general framework of socio-economic formations and the process of development in their historical depth. Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism, is traced to its roots in the ambits of feudalism and followed in the process of capitalist development through the mercantilist, laissez-faire and monopoly stages. This development, which matured in Western Europe, spread all over the world as the imperative of its internal dynamics forced it to search for markets and colonies abroad.

All peoples, irrespective of their stage of development are seen as influencing one another, and "all of them together, comprising mankind as a whole, form part of the single stream of the historical development of the world."⁵

Hence revolutionary change, both in internal and external relations, depends on the correct understanding of the laws that govern the socio-economic development of the world. In order to effectively free a country from imperialism and exploitation, it is essential to find out how much monopoly capital has entrenched itself in the economic life of a country, for without economic emancipation genuine independence and future development remain a dream

The principle of equality and the abolition of exploitation of man by man are aspirations of basic importance in Marxist thinking. The realization of equality does not stop at the level of "thought" or "language"; accepted as a historical imperative, it is pursued through the socialization of the means of production and the systems of distribution and exchange.

As regards goals, the thinkers of this category, also display clarity. Depending on the nature and level of development of a particular society, they work out a strategy and tactics for a stage by stage approach to their set goals.

In situations where pre-capitalist relations dominate or still linger side by side with capitalist ones, the national democratic revolution stage has to be traversed in order to create the material basis for socialist construction. However, in a developed capitalist society, the task of the proletariat upon its seizure of power, will be a direct socialization of the means of production.

In both cases, the change is a revolutionary one where the old structures and production relations are smashed and new relations responding to the needs of the new class situation established. The process of going through a socialist stage is to lead to communism.

The means towards capturing political power and thereby socializing the economic base are here both peaceful and violent, depending on particular circumstances and correlation of class forces. The forms of struggle vary from economic bargaining and peaceful demonstrations, to political strikes and armed struggle.

For socialist construction, the presence of a well-organized and disciplined Marxist-Leninist party imbued with the principle of proletarian internationalism is inevitable. Such a party, as the advanced element of the working class, keeps close contact with the working people and gives direction and ideological guidance to the mass organizations, as well as to the whole society. This is described as the stage of proletarian dictatorship.

In a way, the African socialist thinkers also are of transitional nature. They dwell much on the problem of demolishing the old structures and moving a backward society into socialism. As already mentioned, it is only in the decade of 1970's that some countries have declared scientific socialism as their ideological guide for development. How this will proceed in practice remains to be seen in the future.

This being the case, African Marxist thinkers have not discussed in any detail the problems that confront a society beyond the revolution, namely, at the stage of socialist construction. Among other things, the problems of the newly established popular institutions in coping with the tremendous economic and political administrative tasks are not discussed.

However, their realistic comprehension of the socio-economic and political problems of the given or current society in its historical and international setting, and their dependence on realistic and historically tested scientific method for achieving the future goals of development, remain a convincing trend.

The revolutionaries present a clear and new alternative to current confused and deformed systems. They offer a rejuvenated and strengthened national state in transition, building on consciously politicized and organized social forces and internally controlled and scientifically planned and organized economic base.

NOTES to CONCLUSION

- 1 Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, op.cit., p 100.
- 2 Ibid., p 118.
- 3 Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, op.cit., pp 59-61.
- 4 D. Chesnokov, *Historical Materialism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1969), p 507. The conceptual framework of the materialist approach to history can be summed up by the following figures:

Fig. A

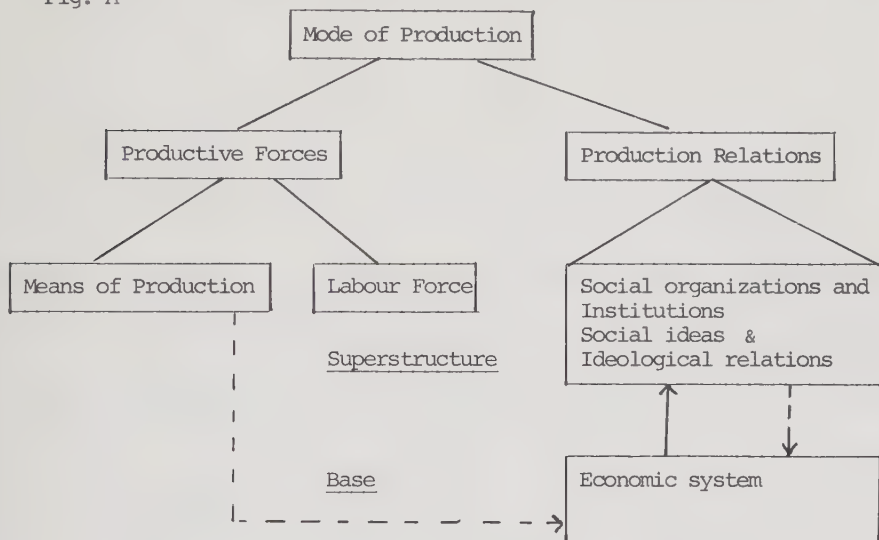


Fig. B

Productive forces	Relation of production		
Socio-economic base		Political & Legal Super-Structures	
Socio-economic Conditions			Social Consciousness

Direction of determination is presented as (i) productive forces determine relations of production (ii) socio-economic base determines the political and legal super-structure and i+ii together as (iii), socio-economic conditions, determine social consciousness. See the Polish Sociological Bulletin L.S. 4 (52) 1980 p 24.

5 D. Chesnokov, op.cit., p 510.

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